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A LECTURE  
ON THE  
PRESENT RELATIONS  
OF  
FREE LABOR TO SLAVE LABOR,  
IN TROPICAL AND SEMI-TROPICAL COUNTRIES:  
PRESENTING  
AN OUTLINE OF THE COMMERCIAL FAILURE OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION, AND ITS EFFECTS UPON SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE, TOGETHER WITH ITS FINAL EFFECT UPON COLONIZATION TO AFRICA.  
ADDRESSED TO THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
OF THE STATE OF OHIO, 1850.

By DAVID CHRISTY,  
AGENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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CINCINNATI:  
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TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
OF THE STATE OF OHIO.

GENTLEMEN :

It had been in contemplation, during your Summer Session at Columbus, to ask the privilege of addressing you on the subject of the Constitutional provision which should be made to secure Legislative aid for such of the colored people of Ohio as may wish to emigrate to Liberia. But your early adjournment prevented the execution of that design. After consultation with some of your number, it has been determined, that the Lecture, prepared for that purpose, be printed and circulated among the members of the Convention, in advance of their meeting in December.

An apology would be due, on account of the extent of the investigations embraced in the Lecture, were it not that we live in a matter-of-fact age, when the reasons offered in support of every measure, proposed for public acceptance, must amount to demonstration. The present Lecture is designed as a sequel to the two heretofore delivered before the Legislature, on the subject of Colonization, and which were laid upon your desks at Columbus. It is believed that every unprejudiced mind must be convinced, after examining the subject of Colonization to Liberia, in all its bearings, that it offers to the colored people an inheritance almost infinitely more valuable than any other scheme that has been proposed for ameliorating their condition. It is also believed that the time has arrived when the question of *the emigration of the colored people from this country, or their permanent residence among us, must be settled*. If the first measure be not adopted, then the public peace and safety demand that ample provision for their elevation, to equal social and political equality, under the last, be speedily made. But if it be the public will, that the African population of our country be secured in the peaceable possession of a free government of their own, then immediate action should be taken to promote that object. To delay the adoption of measures for encouraging emigration to Liberia, affords time for their increase, and makes the work more difficult to accomplish. The success of our proposed Colony from this State to *Ohio in Africa*, will prompt other States to similar efforts, and the cause of Colonization be greatly advanced. But as the extent of our success, in planting our Ohio Colony, *must depend upon the amount of pecuniary aid that will be given by the State itself*, it is respectfully urged that you will give the proposition, brought forward in the close of the Lecture, all the consideration that its importance demands.

Your obedient servant,

DAVID CHRISTY,

Agent American Colonization Society for Ohio.

OXFORD, Ohio, Oct. 1, 1850.

A L E C T U R E  
ON THE  
PRESENT RELATIONS  
OF  
FREE LABOR TO SLAVE LABOR.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N .

IN our two preceding lectures, we have presented the leading incidents connected with the enslavement of the African race, and pointed out the great advantages secured to them in the United States, over those afforded in any other country. The facts presented therein also show, that the work of Africa's redemption from barbarism has been encouragingly commenced by our Colonization scheme. It is natural, therefore, that we should cast about to see whether the impelling forces, tending to promote and perfect this great work, possess sufficient power to insure its success. For it must be confessed, that, in view of the vastness of the work to be accomplished—including the secular and religious education of perhaps more than one hundred and sixty millions of savage men—if no more numerous agencies can be brought to the execution of the task, than the noble little band of Liberians, hope would almost sicken and die, in contemplating the length of time that must elapse before civilization and the gospel can be made to reach the whole population of Africa.

In tracing the causes now in operation, which must rapidly propel the work of Africa's civilization, we find that the facts may be brought most forcibly to view, by contrasting the present relations of Free Labor to Slave Labor, in the cultivation of those tropical and semi-tropical products, upon which slave labor has been and is now chiefly employed.

We may be told—indeed we have already been warned by a friend, to whom the statistics have been shown—that by arraying such facts, before the public, as we have collated, we shall greatly strengthen slavery. But we must beg leave to say, that we apprehend no such results. *The facts are such as the friends of African freedom, every where, should know, to enable them to adopt some practical and efficient remedy for the evils of the slave trade and slavery.* It is not necessary to publish the fact to the slaveholder of Cuba and Brazil, that free labor, in the English and French West Indies, has

failed to supply to commerce an amount of tropical commodities equal to what had been furnished by slave labor before emancipation. They already know this fact. Slaveholders, whether engaged in the production of cotton, sugar, or coffee, have known it, and profited by it. The *slave trader*, also, has known the result of West India emancipation, and has quadrupled his business and his profits by possessing that knowledge. And shall the *Philanthropist*, alone, be debarred from knowing truths of such moment?

The facts which we shall present may be unwelcome to some, yet they cannot be controverted. They may detract somewhat from the honors claimed by many who boast of their success in checking the progress of slavery, and may prove that they were more benevolent than wise, but it cannot be avoided. The day has come for decisive action upon the subject of the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa. All schemes hitherto adopted have signally failed. The wisest statesmen have been baffled and defeated in their attempts. It is time, therefore, that a review of the actions of the past should be taken, and the results spread out before the public. In the execution of this task, if faithfully performed, it is believed that there may be found some common ground upon which all the friends of Africa and of humanity may cordially coöperate.

The evidence which we have been enabled to collect upon this subject, is all from undoubted authorities, and we believe will clearly establish the following propositions:

- I. That Free Labor, in tropical and semi-tropical countries, is failing to furnish to the markets of the world, in any thing like adequate quantities, those commodities upon which slave labor is chiefly employed.
- II. That the governments of England, France, and the United States, at the present moment, are compelled, from necessity, to consume slave labor products, to a large extent, and thus still continue to be the principal agents which aid in extending and perpetuating slavery and the slave trade.
- III. That the legislative measures adopted for the destruction of the slave trade and slavery, especially by England, have tended to increase and extend the systems they were designed to destroy.
- IV. That the governments named, cannot hope to escape from the necessity of consuming the products of slave labor, except by calling into active service, on an extensive scale, the free labor of countries not at present producing the commodities upon which slave labor is employed.
- V. That Africa is the principal field where free labor can be made to compete, successfully, with slave labor, in the production of *exportable* tropical commodities.

VI. That there are moral forces and commercial considerations now in operation, which will, necessarily, impel Christian governments to exert their influence for the civilization of Africa, and the promotion of the prosperity of the Republic of Liberia, as the principal agency in this great work; and that in these facts lies our encouragement to persevere in our Colonization efforts.

VII. That all these agencies and influences being brought to bear upon the civilization of Africa, from the nature of its soil, climate, products, and population, we are forced to believe that a mighty people will ultimately rise upon that continent, taking rank with the most powerful nations of the earth, and vindicate the character of the African race before the world.

Not the least interesting result, growing out of the investigations upon which we are entering, when taken in connection with those of our two preceding lectures, is the conviction that has been produced in our own mind, and which we believe will be made upon all, that England and the United States, the two governments at present most capable of exerting the greatest moral influence over Africa, and of calling into activity her latent but giant energies, are at this moment involved in positions of so much embarrassment, in consequence of their having been connected with the slave trade and slavery, that they cannot extricate themselves, but by the civilization of Africa.

France, also, in the case of her former colony of Hayti, has had poured out to her a portion of the cup of bitterness, which, it seems, must be pressed to the lips of all the nations who have participated in oppressing Africa. By her late act of emancipation, in her remaining tropical colonies, France has still farther embarrassed herself, and, like England and the United States, must soon be compelled either to supply herself almost exclusively with slave-grown cotton, and other tropical products, or lend her aid in promoting free labor cultivation in tropical Africa.

In this remarkable condition of things, we are reminded of the great truth, that God presides among the nations, and overrules their actions to promote his own purposes of *judgment* and of *mercy* to mankind, and that governments, like individuals, are hindered in their designs here and have free progress there, only so far as corresponds with his great scheme of displaying his hatred of sin, vindicating his justice, and of manifesting his love to a fallen world, and his determination to redeem it to himself.

A brief review of some of the leading events, relating to the action of the nations of Europe, in their connection with the slave trade and slavery, will bring us to the statement of the facts upon which we base our propositions.

The records of history put it beyond all question, that the rapid rise of Great Britain, during the 18th century, which secured to her the superiority over other nations in naval power, in commerce, and ultimately in manufactures, was due, principally, to her having

acquired by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, the monopoly of the slave trade. The traffic in slaves being, by this treaty, placed under the control of England, her rivals were deprived of the means of supplying slaves to their tropical possessions, excepting through her merchants, while she could add to her colonies any number required by the planters. And when we call to mind the fact, that the average period of life of the imported African slave, as a profitable laborer in the West India colonies, is not over seven years, it will be seen that this treaty most effectually crippled the rivals of England, and of necessity gave to her, as is the boast of McQueen, the principal monopoly of the markets of the world for her West India tropical products. And, indeed, so seriously were the other powers affected by this measure, that in 1739, Spain paid to Great Britain a half million of dollars to secure a release of her monopoly for the remaining four years to which it extended; and thus the nations of Europe once more became equal participants in this unholy commerce.

A true idea of the immense value of England's commercial interests, *which were based upon the slave trade and slavery*, may be learned from the fact, that in 1807, the export products of her West India possessions employed 250,000 tons of English shipping, and that these islands sustained a population which consumed annually \$17,500,000 worth of British manufactures.\* It was the possession of such resources as these, coupled with her East India acquisitions, that enabled England, whose navy at the opening of the 18th century was one thousand guns less than that of France, to increase it in one hundred years to near its present extent, and shortly after the beginning of the present century, to bid defiance to the combined opposition of the powers of Europe. But it must not be forgotten, that much of this wealth, securing to England such prosperity and such glory as she attained, was wrung from African sinews in her West India colonies.

But now begins the era when the power of Great Britain is to become arrayed on the side of African freedom. The year 1808 terminated the connection of both Great Britain and the United States with the slave trade. Whatever may be said of the motives prompting these governments to this act, it must be admitted, that a great work of philanthropy was accomplished. But its prohibition by these powers, unfortunately, left the monopoly of the traffic in slaves in the hands of Spain and Portugal, who prosecuted it with the greatest activity, and soon made the soil of Cuba and of Brazil to groan beneath the cultivation of those exportable tropical products which England had so successfully commenced, and so advantageously prosecuted. Being then in its infancy, the government of the United States could exert but little influence upon other nations, and, consequently, the control of this great question rested with England. It was a capital error in her policy, to neglect securing an abandonment of the slave trade by the other European governments. Their

success in rivaling her in tropical cultivation, together with the subsequent legislative errors of Great Britain, and the consequent destruction of the prosperity of her West India colonies, has been fully discussed in our first lecture. Since its publication, however, many additional facts have been ascertained, and many new developments have been made, in connection with English and French West India emancipation, which enable us to understand more clearly its workings, and to foresee more certainly the final effects of that great work of philanthropy upon the African race.

The prohibition of the slave trade, and the emancipation of her West India slaves,\* greatly embarrassed the commercial interests of England, and forced her to grapple with the giant evils of the slave trade and slavery, and to attempt their destruction. But each step taken, after the prohibition of the slave trade, while it certainly promoted, *locally*, the cause of human liberty, dealt a death-blow to some of the vital interests of the government. And, as if the Almighty had designed to record, in letters of living light, his disapproval of the motives prompting England to enslave the African race, these blows have fallen upon the identical interests which had been created and built up by the slave trade and slavery, viz: her West India sugar, cotton, and coffee cultivation, and the markets for her manufactures which these islands afforded.

Previous to 1808, England's West India colonies were supplied with laborers from Africa, by means of the slave trade. The slaves in these islands numbered 800,000, in that year; but in 1834, when their emancipation had been effected, there were only 700,000.† This diminution of the slaves, while it very seriously affected the exports from the colonies, served to reveal the true character of West India slavery, and the means by which colonial prosperity had been sustained, and can only be accounted for from overworking, and the great disparity of the sexes always consequent upon the supply of laborers by the slave trade.‡

After the supply of slave labor had been cut off, by the prohibition of the slave trade, it was discovered that a vast decrease of exports was taking place in the colonies. The remedy proposed for this evil was emancipation; by means of which it was conceived that the liberated slaves would, as freemen, perform twice the labor that had been wrung out of them while under the lash, and also that double the quantity that had been supplied, of British manufactures, while in slavery, would be required to clothe them if free.§ Such a conceit as this could never have originated but in a mind entertaining unsound views of human nature, and unacquainted with the impossibility of controlling, by moral suasion, a half-civilized or savage people, and of inducing them to give up long-established habits. But the scheme was adopted, and England committed her second legislative error in

\* See Lecture 1, for a full discussion of this subject.

† See Life of Buxton, and our First Lecture, p. 41.

‡ See Lecture 1, p. 41.

§ See Lect. 1, p. 39.

anti-slavery effort. The emancipation of the West India slaves was decreed in 1833, and fully executed in 1838.

The movements of France in relation to African freedom, must also be noticed, to obtain a clear view of the present relations of free labor to slave labor. The history of the island of St. Domingo supplies materials of great interest upon this subject. The French portion of that island, in 1789, consisting of 30,826 whites, and 27,548 free colored persons,\* had 480,000 slaves† employed in agriculture, and furnished *three-fifths* of the produce of all the French West India colonies, amounting in value to more than \$50,000,000, and consumed, of French manufactures, \$49,430,000.‡ The Spanish part of the island employed in agriculture only 15,000 slaves.§

The political troubles of St. Domingo began in 1790, between the mulattoes and the whites, the slaves remaining industrious, quiet, and orderly. But in August, 1792, the slaves joined in the rebellion, and the massacre of the whites was commenced. The most dreadful scenes of cruelty and bloodshed continued to be enacted until 1801, when a constitution was adopted, and the island, under the name of Hayti, formally proclaimed an independent neutral power. At the close of this year, Bonaparte made an effort to reconquer the island, and, in order to succeed, the French general, Le Clerc, first attempted to restore the planters to their former authority over the negroes, many of whom, in the preceding struggles, had been granted their freedom; but, failing in this, he was forced, as a last resort, on the 25th of April, 1802, to "proclaim liberty and equality to all the inhabitants, without regard to color." The Haytien chieftains, Toussaint, Dessalines, Christophé, &c., being immediately deserted by the blacks, were forced to submit, and the French sovereignty was again recognized throughout Hayti. As a first step to deprive the people of their efficient leaders, Le Clerc seized Toussaint and his family, in the night, about the middle of May, and hurried them on board a vessel, which sailed immediately for France.¶ This act of perfidy at once aroused the population to resistance, and the French, after a loss of 40,000 men, by disease and war, were compelled to capitulate, Nov., 1803, and, with a remnant of the army, of only 8,000 men, beg leave to depart from the island. Dessalines now assumed the authority, and a general massacre of the remaining French inhabitants took place.\*\*

From this period, 1803, dates the independence of Hayti. Its population was, at this time, 348,000.†† Christophé was declared king in 1811. Petion succeeded him and died in 1818, when Boyer came into power and annexed the Spanish part of the Island. From this period until 1843, when Boyer abdicated, the Island enjoyed a fair degree of tranquility. The legislation was rigidly directed to

\* Westminster Rev., 1850, p. 261. † Maegregor, p. 1152.

‡ Blackwood's Mag., 1848, p. 6. § Maegregor, p. 1152.

¶ Confined to a loathsome dungeon, he died the next year.

\*\* See Life of Benjamin Lundy, and also Maegregor.

†† Maegregor, p. 1152.

secure the industry of the inhabitants, but with little success as we shall see.

In 1848, the whole of the slaves in the remaining French colonies were emancipated by a decree of the Republic. Their population, including free persons and slaves, we find stated as follows :\*

Colonies.	Free.	Slaves.	Colonies.	Free.	Slaves.
Martinique, . . (1846),	47,352	75,330	Nossi Falli and		
Gaudaloupe, . . . (do),	40,428	89,349	Nossi Mitson, (1846),	14,512	7,698
Bourban, . . . (do),	45,512	62,154	St. Mary Magdalene, . . . . (do),	3,465	2,415
Nossi Be and			Senegal, . . . . (1845),	8,427	10,113
Nossi Cumba, . . (do).			Algiers, (estimate).		10,000
Total, . . . . .				159,696	257,059

We are now enabled to state the amount of the colored population, in the English and French colonies, to whom freedom has been secured, and upon whom, since their emancipation, *free labor tropical cultivation has devolved*. It was as follows :

British West Indies, . . 1834,	700,000
Hayti, . . . . . 1804,	348,000
Other French Colonies, 1848,	257,000
Total, . . . . .	1,305,000

Here we shall terminate our preliminary historical retrospect and proceed to demonstrate our first proposition, which is this :

I. That free labor, in tropical and semi-tropical countries, is failing to furnish to the markets of the world, in anything like adequate quantities, those commodities upon which slave labor is chiefly employed.

We shall commence with the British West Indies. The following table embraces the exports from Jamaica alone. We cannot ascertain the amount exported from the whole English West India colonies, including the period of the slave trade. But as Jamaica is much the largest and most important Island, and as nearly the same results have followed in all the islands, it may justly be taken as the type of the whole, and as fully exhibiting the influence which the legislation of the mother country, on the subject of the slave trade and slavery, in its several stages of progress, has exerted upon her own commerce and manufactures, and upon the prosperity of the colonies. The quantities stated are the average annual exports for periods of five years each, embracing *the last five years of the slave trade, the last five of slavery, and the first five of freedom*.† We

\*Anti-Slavery Reporter.

†Where the sugar is given in hogsheads, we have reduced it to pounds, estimating the hhd. at 1600 lbs. nett.

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are also enabled to bring down the results to the close of 1848, including the three last years separately.

Years of Exports.	lbs Sugar.	P. Rum,	lbs Coffee.	Ann. Value.
Ann. average, 1803 to 1807*	211,139,200	50,426	23,625,377	\$19,263,105
" " 1829 to 1833*	152,564,800	35,505	17,645,602	13,957,390
" " 1839 to 1843*	67,924,800	14,185	7,412,498	6,066,420
" exports 1846†	57,956,800	14,395	6,047,150	—
" " 1847†	77,636,400	18,077	6,421,122	—
" " 1848‡	67,539,200	20,194	5,684,921	—

\*Blackwood's Mag., 1848, p. 225.

†Littel's Living Age, 1850, No. 309, p. 125.—*Letters of Mr. Bigelow.*

We add also the exports from British Guiana, because it includes the article of cotton, and exhibits the decline in its production.\*

Years.	lbs. Sugar.	Pun. Rum.	Ck's. Molas.	lbs. Cotton.	Coffee. lbs. Dutch,
1827	113,868,800	22,362	28,226	6,361,600	8,063,752
1830	111,248,200	32,939	21,189	2,169,200	9,502,756
1833	101,464,000	17,824	44,508	1,479,600	5,704,482
1836	91,427,200	24,202	37,088	1,278,400	4,801,352
1839	61,585,600	16,070	12,134	541,600	1,583,250
1843	57,180,800	8,296	24,937	9,600	1,428,100

The rate at which the cultivation of cotton has declined in the British West Indies, is indicated by the imports of that article from them into England, in the periods stated below. †

1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1840*
4,640,414	3,449,247	2,401,685	2,040,428	2,084,826	2,296,525	427,529

\*McQueen, see Lecture, I. p. 37.

The total amount of the imports of sugar and coffee, into England, from all her West India Colonies, but not embracing the period of the slave trade, were as follows :‡

Years of importation.	lbs. Sugar.	lbs. Coffee.
Ann. aver. in the 5 yrs, 1827 to 1831,.....	448,765,520	26,670,601
" " " " 1832 to 1836,.....	411,869,056	19,904,536
" " " " 1837 to 1841,.....	313,570,144	13,473,389
" " " " 1842 to 1846,.....	277,252,400	7,985,153
In the year 1847,.....	358,379,952	6,770,792
" " 1848. §.....	313,306,112	—

\*Blackwood's Mag., 1848, p. 225. †See table of imports, p. 16, of this Lecture

‡Westminster Review, 1850, p. 279. §London Quar. Review, 1850, p. 97.

"In 1831 the British West India Colonies produced 459,622,600 lbs. of sugar;" being nearly eleven millions of pounds more than the average of that and the preceding four years. This amount seems to have been sufficient for the home consumption, because the importation of 65,320,192 lbs. of foreign sugar, during that year, was for re-export only.\* But in 1848, such had been the increased consumption of that article, in the seventeen years which had elapsed, that the imports of sugar amounted to 769,604,416 lbs., of which there was taken for consumption 690,213,552 lbs.† Of this amount the British West Indies supplied only 313,306,112 lbs.,‡ and 229,748,096 lbs. were of *foreign slave grown sugar*.§ We shall here close our statements in relation to the failure of free labor cultivation in the British West India Colonies, and turn to those of France.

The following statistical table of exports from Hayti,¶ tells, but too forcibly, the results of emancipation upon the commercial prosperity of that Island, and shows the magnitude of the loss sustained by France in having this colony wrested from her. It includes the exports of the three principal products from 1789 to 1841.

Years.	lbs. Sugar.	lbs. Coffee.	lbs. Cotton.	Remarks.
1789	141,089,931	76,835,219	7,004,274	Island tranquil.
1790	163,318,810	68,151,180	6,286,126	Wh's and Mnl. at war.
1801	18,534,112	43,420,270	2,480,340	Slaves freed in 1793.
1818	5,443,765	26,065,200	474,118	Boyer in power.
1819	3,790,300	29,240,919	216,103	" "
1820	2,517,289	35,137,759	346,839	" "
1821	600,934	29,925,951	820,563	" "
1822	200,451	24,235,372	592,368	" "
1823	14,920	33,802,837	332,256	" "
1824	5,106	44,269,084	1,028,045	" "
1825	2,020	36,034,300	815,697	" "
1826	32,864	32,189,784	620,972	" "
1835	1,097	48,352,371	1,649,717	Ex's for whole Island.
1836	16,199	37,662,672	1,072,555	" "
1837		30,845,400	1,013,171	" "
1838		49,820,241		" "
1839		7,889,092	1,635,420	" "
1840	741	46,126,272	922,575	Republic.
1841	1,363	34,114,717	1,591,454	" "
1848	very little	33,600,000†	————*	

\*No statement yet received. †Campbell, Arnott & Co.

The assertion of Independence by the people of Hayti, and the almost immediate abandonment of sugar cultivation in the Island, at once deprived France of three-fifths of her colonial imports of that article. To supply the deficiency, the Emperor Napoleon made the attempt, on a grand scale, to produce beet-root sugar in France itself. But this experiment did not meet the public wants, and the cultivation

\*London Quar. Review, 1850, p. 97. †Ib. p. 88. ‡Ib. p. 97. §Ib. p. 88.

¶Macgregor, London Ed. 1847.

of sugar, by slave labor, was necessarily rapidly increased in the remaining French colonies. The slave trade being actively prosecuted at that period, it afforded a full supply of slaves to the French planters, and the exports of sugar, from her remaining colonies, must have rapidly increased, as we find, that in the first nine months of 1847, they had increased to an amount exceeding by five millions and a half of pounds, the exports from Hayti, for the whole year, in 1790.

The effects of the recent emancipation of her slaves by the French Republic\* bids fair to prove as disastrous to the commerce of her colonies and to the interests of France, as were the results of the rebellion of Hayti. We find it stated, in the current news of the day, that, "according to official data, the amount of sugar imported into France, from her colonies in Guiana, the West Indies, and the Island of La Reunion, has fallen from 168,884,177 lbs., the quantity imported during the first nine months of 1847, to 96,929,336 lbs., for the same period of the year 1849, being a falling off, for the nine months, of 71,854,841 lbs.

We wish here to state distinctly that our leading object in presenting, so fully the evidences of the failure of free labor tropical cultivation, is not to prove that slavery *should not be abolished*; because that would involve the absurdity of insisting, that one-third the world should be enslaved, to secure to the other two-thirds their coffee, sugar, and cotton, at a reduced price. But our aim is to impress the great truth on the mind of the christian public, *that mere personal freedom is insufficient to elevate and enoble an unenlightened people, and that intellectual and moral culture should accompany all emancipation schemes, otherwise they must fail in the accomplishment of the great good which personal freedom, under other circumstances, secures to man.*

Having now presented the principal instances where free labor has failed in tropical cultivation, *upon territory formerly employing slave labor*, we may pause and state the extent of that failure, so far as to include the articles of coffee, cotton, and sugar. But as we have not had access to any statement of the exports from the whole of the British West India Islands, for the period of the slave trade, we must take those of Jamaica as the type of the whole. From 1807 to 1831 the exports of sugar fell off, in Jamaica,  $38, \frac{3}{10} \%$  per cent., and that of coffee  $33, \frac{8}{10} \%$ . By adding this amount to the exports from all the Islands in 1831, will give us their probable exports in 1807. The article of cotton cannot be brought under this rule, for want of accurate data, previous to 1829.

The *deficit* of free labor tropical cultivation, as compared with slave labor while sustained by the slave trade, including the territorial limits upon which England and France have liberated their bondsmen, stands as follows:—a startling result, truly, to those who expected emancipation to work well *commercially*.

Slave Labor.	Years.	lbs. Sugar.	lbs. Coffee.	lbs. Cotton.
British West Indies, ....	1807	636,025,643	31,610,764	4,640,114*
Hayti,.....	1790	163,318,810	76,835,219	7,286,126
Total, .....	.....	809,344,453	108,245,983	11,926,540
<hr/>				
Free Labor				
British West Indies.....	1848	313,306,112	6,770,792	427,529†
Hayti,.....	1848	very little	34,114,717‡	1,591,154‡
Total, .....	.....	313,306,112	40,885,509	2,018,983
Free Labor Deficit, .....	.....	496,038,341	67,360,474	9,907,557

\*1829. †1840. ‡1847.

We have not included the French Islands emancipated in 1848, because the information possessed in relation to them is not sufficiently accurate. When the decline of free labor, in them, reaches its maximum, at least another 100,000,000 lbs. of sugar must be added to the sum of free labor failures.\*

To understand the bearing which this decrease of production, by *Free Labor*, has upon the interests of the African people, it must be remembered that the consumption of sugar has not diminished, but increased, vastly, and that for every hogshead that free labor sugar is diminished, a hogshead of slave labor sugar is demanded to supply its place; and more than this: for every additional hogshead demanded by the *increased consumption* of sugar, an additional one, of slave labor production, *must be furnished*, because the world will not do without sugar. It must be noticed, also, that, at the present moment, the greater portion of all this *double demand* for sugar, falls upon the people of color. It seems to be a settled rule, that if the African race will not supply to the world its sugar, *by voluntary labor*, receiving for themselves all the profits on its production; then the world compels them to do it, *by compulsory labor*, and votes the whole profits to the *white man* who applies the whip that stimulates them to industry.

These remarks will apply to coffee and cotton, also, or to any other *exportable* tropical commodity upon which slave labor is employed. We now close our investigations in relation to our first proposition, believing that we have fully demonstrated its truthfulness, and shall proceed to the second.

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\*See our Lectures on African Colonization and Civilization, for our views of the causes of the failure of the type of free labor which exists in the West Indies.

II. That Christian governments, at the present moment, are compelled, from necessity, to consume slave labor products to a large extent, and thus still continue to aid in extending and perpetuating slavery and the slave trade.

The discussion of our first proposition closed with a statement of the deficit of free labor tropical cultivation, within the territorial limits upon which the emancipation of the slaves, formerly held in bondage by England and France, had been effected.

In discussing the second proposition, we shall first ascertain the extent of the consumption of tropical commodities, by the three governments most deeply interested in the questions of slavery and the slave trade, (England, France, and the United States,) and then the sources from which their supplies are obtained, and the proportions that are the product of free labor or of slave labor. And, first, of *Cotton*:

The manufacture of raw cotton into fabrics for clothing, was introduced into England at an early period; but it was confined chiefly to operatives in families, until about 1785, when the discovery of the power of steam, and the improvements in machinery, gave to manufacturing industry an impulse that has extended it with almost miraculous rapidity.

The best information that can be gained from the English custom-house books, gives from one to two millions of pounds of cotton as the amount annually imported between 1697 and 1751. In 1764, the imports had reached 3,870,000 lbs., and in 1784, over 11,480,000 pounds.\*

Previous to 1795, the supplies of cotton were obtained by England from the West Indies, South America, India, and the Levant.† It was not until 1791, that any cotton was shipped to England from the United States. In this year, 189,316 lbs. were sent over, and in the year following only 138,328 lbs.‡

The importation of cotton into England maintained a nearly equal annual progressive increase, from 1784 to 1805, when it had reached 60,600,000 lbs., and in 1817, near 125,000,000 lbs., a small part of which (8,156,000 lbs.) was re-exported. §

The quantity of cotton consumed by Great Britain, from 1817, the period last stated, to 1836, is embraced in the following table, which is extracted from that very able work, Porter's Progress of the Nation. That from 1840 to 1849 is also added, and is taken from a very elaborate and valuable article in the London Economist,|| a periodical that has no superior for accuracy. The whole table is one of great value in our discussion, and presents the important fact, that

\* McCullough's account of British Empire, Vol. I, p. 643.

<sup>†</sup> Ib., p. 648. <sup>‡</sup> Ib., p. 648.

<sup>6</sup> McCullough, Vol. I, p. 649.

Supplement to London Economist, Jan. 5, 1850.

the consumption of cotton in England, in 1849, was 624,000,000 lbs.\* The imports for the year reached 755,469,008 lbs.; of which there were re-exported 98,893,536 lbs., leaving for home consumption 656,575,472 lbs.,† of which only the quantity above stated was used within the year.

*Table exhibiting the quantity of Cotton annually consumed in England, from 1818 to 1838;‡ and from 1840 to 1849.§*

YEARS.	Cotton, lbs.	YEAR.	Cotton, lbs.	YEARS.	Cotton, lbs.
1818	109,902,000	1828	217,860,000	1840	517,254,400
1819	109,518,000	1829	219,200,000	1841	460,387,200
1820	120,265,000	1830	247,600,000	1842	477,339,200
1821	129,029,000	1831	262,700,000	1843	555,214,400
1822	145,493,000	1832	276,900,000	1844	570,731,200
1823	154,146,000	1833	287,000,000	1845	626,496,000
1824	165,174,000	1834	303,000,000	1846	624,000,000
1825	166,831,000	1835	326,407,692	1847	442,416,000
1826	150,213,000	1836	363,654,232	1848	602,160,000
1827	197,200,000	1838*	460,000,000	1849	624,000,000

\* Lectures of George Thompson, Esq., England, 1839, p. 93.

The cotton consumed in the United States, in 1848, including an estimate of that manufactured in the cotton-growing States, and in those along the tributaries of the Mississippi, estimating the bales at 400 lbs. each, was 260,000,000 lbs.|| Our average annual increased consumption of cotton is 14,000,000 lbs.,¶ which, for 1849, will augment the quantity consumed in the United States to 274,000,000 lbs.

The consumption of cotton in France, in 1832, was 68,725,961 lbs., and in 1833, 72,767,551 lbs.\*\* The exports from the United States to France, in 1849, were 149,090,000 lbs.†† The whole amount delivered for consumption that year was 156,000,000 lbs., of which 147,000,000 lbs. were from the United States, and the remaining 9,000,000 lbs. from other countries,††—from Brazil, say 3,000,000 lbs.

The whole amount of cotton taken for consumption, in 1849, in the remaining continental countries, was 129,920,000 lbs., of which 128,800,000 lbs. were from the United States,§§ leaving of that from other countries, only 1,020,000 lbs.

The consumption of cotton from the United States, on the whole continent of Europe, now reaches 280,000,000 lbs.|||

\* In the table of the Economist, published before the whole consumption of 1849 had been ascertained, it is estimated at 659,984,000 lbs., the editor having taken, as his data, the consumption of the first eleven months of the year. Subsequently, the actual quantity was ascertained and published, and we have changed the figures to the true amount.

† London Economist, 1850, p. 195. ‡ Porter's Progress of the Nation.

§ Supplement to the London Economist, Jan. 1850, p. 36.

|| New Orleans Bulletin.

¶ Supplement to London Economist, Jan. 1850, p. 35.

\*\* Porter's Progress. †† London Economist, 1850, p. 103.

†† See present Lecture, p. 20. ||| Sup. to L Econ., Jan. 1850, p. 35.

§§ London Econ., 1850, p. 103.

We are now prepared to state the amount of cotton, from all sources, *actually consumed* by the United States and Europe, in 1849. It was as follows :

Great Britain, . . . . .	lbs. . . . .	624,000,000
France and other Continental countries, . . . . .		285,920,000
The United States, . . . . .		270,000,000
Total Cotton Consumption, . . . . .	lbs. . . . .	1,179,920,000

The next point of inquiry is, Whence are these supplies of cotton obtained? "Next to the United States, but at a very great distance from them, Brazil, the East Indies, and Egypt, are the countries which furnish the largest supplies of cotton for exportation." \* The advantages possessed by the United States, in the growing of cotton, and the superior qualities of our staple, render it difficult, if not impossible, for the other countries producing that article, to compete with us in its cultivation. The subjoined table is full of instruction on this subject.

*Imports of Cotton into Great Britain, during each of the six years, ending with 1834, specifying the countries whence imported, the re-exports, and quantity left for consumption.†*

Countries whence Imported.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.
Germany, Holland, {	lbs. . . . .					
Belgium, . . . . .	7	77,135	.....	116,727	3,909	7,296
Portugal, Proper, . . . . .	27,893	85,967	.....	59,050	943,831	5,524
Italy and Italian Islands, . . . . .	.....	15	35,640	21,739	15,705	826,458
Malta, . . . . .	61,254	27,073	543,895	28,063	17,298	.....
Turkey and Continental Greece, . . . . .	91,905	353,077	366,550	29,779	433,893	410,730
Egypt, (Ports on Mediterranean.) . . . . .	5,894,450	3,045,633	7,714,474	8,824,111	553,364	444,437
Mauritius, . . . . .	50,599	14,056	.....	.....	.....	.....
East Indies and Ceylon, . . . . .	24,481,761	12,481,761	25,805,153	35,178,625	32,755,164	32,920,865
Philippine Islands, . . . . .	16,011	29,672	8,420	40,879	37,908	.....
British N. A. Colonies, . . . . .	32,419	2,473	316,016	7,155	145,526	3,332
British West Indies, . . . . .	4,610,414	3,429,247	2,400,685	2,010,428	2,044,862	9,296,525
Haiti, . . . . .	149,048	166,266	251,179	59,413	39,791	223,004
Cuba and other foreign West Indies, . . . . .	128,896	10,174	.....	314	.....	3,794
U. States of America, . . . . .	157,187,396	210,585,355	219,333,628	219,756,753	237,596,758	269,203,075
Colombia, . . . . .	697,564	221,381	334,691	293,602	305,033	1,004,440
Brazil, . . . . .	28,878,386	33,092,072	31,695,761	20,109,560	28,463,821	19,291,306
Chili & Rio de la Plata, . . . . .	1,931	4,063	10,624	3,729	378	75,257
Various other countries, . . . . .	69,378	45,629	57,027	1,194	.....	154,539
Total imported, . . . . .	222,767,411	263,961,452	285,674,553	286,832,525	302,056,837	326,875,423
Amount exported, . . . . .	30,299,115	534,976	22,305,556	18,027,940	17,363,582	24,461,963
Left for consumption, . . . . .	192,478,296	255,426,470	266,366,298	268,804,555	286,292,955	302,413,462

The following table, added to the above, affords all the information that is necessary to a full understanding of the question, whence the supplies of cotton are obtained :

\* McCullough, Vol. I, p. 651. † Ib.

*Imports of cotton into Great Britain, from all foreign countries, presenting the annual average during periods of five years, from 1830 to 1849, inclusive.\**

Years.	Miscellaneous,†	Brazil.	Egypt.	East Indies.	United States.
1830 to 1834	5,510,000	59,590,800	7,959,600	32,318,000	247,356,400
1835 to 1839	12,909,600	51,474,800	13,842,400	57,612,000	344,688,800
1840 to 1844	9,430,800	37,698,000	16,633,200	93,383,600	464,226,400
1845 to 1849	3,586,400	39,654,800	17,967,200	71,940,800	734,244,560‡

When the cotton of the United States had been fairly tested in England, it was found to be very much superior to that from the East Indies. The seed of our cotton was, therefore, introduced into India, and its cultivation so far succeeded, as to warrant the belief that, with proper encouragement from government, it might be grown in any quantities. In 1839, a vigorous effort was made, headed by George Thompson, Esq., § to enlist Parliament in the enterprise. It was urged that all the elements of successful cotton cultivation existed in the East Indies, and that the English nation might soon obtain its supplies of cotton from that country, and repudiate that of the United States.

The introduction to the American edition of the Lectures delivered by Thompson on that occasion, which was written by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, contains the following sentences.|| They sufficiently indicate what were the anticipations of the advocates of the measure :

"If England can raise her own cotton in India, at the paltry rate of a penny a pound, what inducement can she have to obtain her supply from a rival nation, at a rate six or eight times higher? It is stated that East India free labor costs three pence a day—African slave labor, two shillings; that upward of 800,000 bales of cotton are exported from the United States, annually, to England; and that the cotton trade of the United States with England amounts to the enormous sum of \$40,000,000 annually. Let that market be closed to this slaveholding Republic, and its slave system must inevitably perish from starvation!"

Mr. Thompson, throughout the whole course of his lectures, seems not to doubt the success of East India cotton cultivation, and also that of sugar and coffee, and that the result would be the destruction of the slave trade, and the downfall of slavery everywhere. He thus exclaims :¶

"The battle-ground of freedom for the world is on the plains of Hindostan. Yes, my friends, *do justice to India*; wave there the scepter of justice, and the rod of oppression falls from the hands of the slaveholder in America; and the slave, swelling beyond the

\* Supplement to the London Economist, 1850, pp. 34, 35.—Bales estimated at 400 lbs. each.

† Chiefly the British Colonies.

‡ We have substituted the average imports of 1848 and 1849, from the United States, instead of from 1845 to 1849, because it gives a nearer approximation to the truth. 1847, in the U. S., made only three-fourths of a crop, and it was the year of famine in Great Britain.

§ The great Abolitionist. || Lecture by George Thompson, Esq., 1839, p. 9

¶ Lecture, page 121.

measure of his chains, stands disenthralled, a free man, and an acknowledged brother!"

We need not trace the history of this effort to promote the cultivation of cotton in India. It is of such recent occurrence, that all intelligent men are familiar with the results. Paragraphs like the following frequently meet the eye of the general reader. It is taken from a reliable periodical.

"Late accounts from India [through the English press,] represent that the attempts of the British capitalists, during the last two or three years, to cultivate cotton in the district of Dharwar, from which much was expected, have signally failed. In 1847-8, about 20,000 acres were cultivated. It is now ascertained that the crop has rapidly decreased, only 4,000 acres having been under cultivation the past year."

It is unnecessary to discuss the causes operating in the East Indies, to make it impossible to stimulate its *free laborers* much beyond their wonted rules of industry. Our views upon this question will be found in our two former lectures, where we present the causes of the failure of West India free labor. We need but state, here, that the East Indies have only a *Pagan civilization*, which has long since attained its full maturity. Any efforts, therefore, aside from the introduction of Christianity, and a *Christian civilization*, or the reduction of the population to slavery, must fail in securing a much greater degree of industry than exists at present. If left to their own free will, all attempts to introduce improvements in agriculture and manufactures, will probably result like the following effort made to improve their mode of plowing. Under the head of "Cotton in India," the London Times of the present year, says:

"The one great element of American success—of American enterprise—can never, at least for many generations, be imparted to India. It is impossible to expect of Hindoos all that is achieved by citizens of the States. During the experiments to which we have alluded, an English plow was introduced into one of the provinces, and the natives were taught its use and superiority over their own clumsy machinery. They were at first astonished and delighted at its effects, but as soon as the agent's back was turned, they took it, painted it red, set it up on end, and *worshipped* it."

Another anecdote, confirmatory of the impossibility of effecting a change of habits in the people of India, was told by the Rev. J. H. Morrison, missionary in India, during his late visit to this country. An English gentleman, resident in India, had commenced an improvement, requiring the removal of a large quantity of earth. Employing native laborers, they commenced the task in their usual way, by carrying the earth to the place of deposit, in baskets, upon their heads. Pitying them, and wishing to facilitate the work, he had a number of wheelbarrows constructed, and taken upon the ground. Showing the laborers how to use them, they appeared pleased with the novelty, and worked briskly. Gratified that he had relieved them from a toilsome system of labor, the gentleman left them to pursue their work. But on returning some days afterwards, he was astonished

and mortified, to see them filling their wheelbarrows, and then, lifting the whole burden upon their heads, deliberately carrying it off as they had done their baskets. Such is Pagan stupidity and Pagan attachment to custom.

The successful cultivation of cotton in the United States, and the better adaptation of the lands in Cuba and Brazil, to the production of sugar and coffee, has led the planters of these two countries to devote their labor chiefly to the production of the last named commodities. The preceding tables of imports into England, (page 16,) proves the truth of this statement, and shows a great diminution in the production of cotton, except in the United States. In reviewing the results in the several cotton-growing countries, the London Economist remarks :\*

"From Brazil, therefore, our annual supply has diminished nearly 20,000,000 lbs.; or if we compare the two extreme years of the series, 1830 and 1848, the falling off is from 76,906,800 lbs. to 40,097,600 lbs. or 36,800,000 lbs.

"The supply from Egypt, however, seems to have reached its maximum in 1845, in which year we received 32,537,600 lbs. This year it does not reach half that amount. Moreover, this country, from the peculiar circumstances of its government, is little to be relied upon,—the supply having varied from 16,116,000 lbs. in 1832, to 1,027,600 lbs. in 1833; and again, from 7,298,000 lbs. in 1842, to 26,400,000 lbs. in 1844.

"For many years it was the custom of the Pacha of Egypt, to require a certain amount of cotton from his tenants, or, in fact, to compel them to pay the whole, or a fixed portion of their rent, in cotton. Under this forcing system, the cultivation was extensively introduced. Of late years, however, the Fellahs have been allowed to grow the article, or not, at their option; and such is their natural indolence and want of enterprise, that even where they still continue the growth, they do so in a very careless manner.†

"Our supply from the East Indies varies enormously, from 36,000,000 lbs. to 108,000,000 lbs. per annum, *inasmuch as we only receive that proportion of the crop which our prices may divert from China, or from internal consumption.*

"The summary of our supply, from all these quarters combined, is:

1830 to 1834,	105,410,400 lbs.	1840 to 1844,	157,145,600 lbs.
1835 to 1839,	136,088,000 lbs.	1845 to 1849,	133,120,800 lbs.

"The result of this inquiry, then, is, that our average annual supply from all quarters, except the United States, was, in the five years ending 1849, *less* by 2,943,200 lbs. than in the five years ending 1839, and *less* by 24,000,000 lbs. than in the five years ending 1844. Of this *diminished* supply, moreover, we have been exporting an *increasing* quantity, averaging, annually, in the last five years, 31,680,000 lbs. against 27,360,000, annually, in the previous five years."

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\* Supplement to Jan. 5, 1850, p. 34. † *Ib.* p. 38.

The imports of cotton into the United States, mostly from the Dutch West Indies, is very inconsiderable in amount, being, for 1848, only 317,742 lbs., or less than 800 bags, of which 51,000 lbs. were re-exported.

The exports of cotton *from the United States*, affords the key to the chief source of supply of that article to European countries.

*Exports of Cotton from the United States, to Foreign Countries, for the years 1846, 1847, 1848, and 1849, the years ending June 30.\**

Whither Exported.	Lbs.—1846.	Lbs.—1847.	Lbs.—1848.	Lbs.—1849.
Russia, . . . . .	4,292,680	5,618,365	10,266,911	10,650,631
Prussia, . . . . .	.....	.....	116,523	.....
Sweden and Norway, . . . . .	2,555,788	2,887,693	4,978,024	7,030,305
Denmark, . . . . .	32,257	660,732	69,020	4,779
Hanse towns, . . . . .	7,543,017	10,889,543	17,420,498	13,844,494
Holland, . . . . .	3,849,859	1,978,324	4,851,509	11,877,386
Belgium, . . . . .	7,408,422	10,184,348	15,279,676	28,113,309
England, . . . . .	326,365,971	338,150,564	546,911,132	696,669,474
Scotland, . . . . .	13,312,850	12,683,738	25,091,965	38,706,884
Ireland, . . . . .	6,379,746	424,497	.....	3,968,547
Gibraltar, . . . . .	1,054,310	90,199	133,202	5,725,812
British Amer. Colonies, . . . . .	47,380	226,493	22,352	97,104
France on the Atlantic, . . . . .	124,185,369	98,421,966	129,263,272	144,481,949
“ Mediterranean, . . . . .	7,867,480	4,695,492	7,034,583	6,858,283
Spain, . . . . .	117,885	12,313,658	19,323,425	23,285,804
Cuba, . . . . .	10,102,969	3,139,156	4,557,474	1,584,784
Portugal, . . . . .	19,533	.....	774	240,895
Italy, . . . . .	11,212,093	8,720,718	6,077,621	10,604,462
Sardinia, . . . . .	2,387,264	4,494,594	2,514,364	6,053,707
Trieste and Austrian ports	13,382,043	11,780,673	20,643,690	13,279,384
Mexico, . . . . .	4,392,828	.....	.....	2,208,704
Cent. Repub. of America, . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	524,721
China and South Seas, . . . . .	85,760	848,998	12,953	760,861
TOTAL, lbs.....	547,558,055	527,219,958	814,274,431	1026,602,269
VALUE, . . . . .	\$42,767,341	\$53,415,884	\$61,998,294	\$66,396,976

We must bring this discussion of the cotton question to a close. If we take the table of imports into England,† as the guide, it will be seen that she was importing, annually, during the last period named, ending with 1849, the following proportions of *slave labor* and of *free labor* cotton:

*The product of Slave labor.*

From Brazil, . . . . .	39,654,800 lbs.
From United States, . . . . .	734,214,560 “
	773,899,360 lbs.

*The product of Free labor.*

From Egypt, . . . . .	17,967,200 lbs.
From East Indies, . . . . .	71,940,800 “
From Miscellaneous, . . . . .	3,586,400 “
	93,494,400 “

England's excess of imports of slave labor cotton,      680,404,960 “

\* Reports of Sec. of Treas. of U. S. on Commerce and Navigation.

† Present Lecture, p. 17.

The actual consumption of cotton, by England, in 1849, as before stated, was 624,000,000 lbs. Of the imports of 133,149,200 lbs.\* cotton not the growth of the United States, there were re-exported 31,680,000 lbs.,† leaving thereof, for consumption in England, 101,-469,200 lbs. Deducting this amount from the quantity consumed in 1849, leaves 522,530,800 lbs. as the amount of England's consumption of cotton derived from the United States.

But of the 101,469,200 lbs. above named, at least 30,000,000 lbs. must have been from Brazil, and consequently of slave labor origin. leaving for the English manufacturer, only 71,469,200 lbs. of free labor cotton.

The result of this investigation may now be stated thus :

*Slave Labor Cotton consumed in 1849.*

By England, from Brazil, . . .	30,000,000 lbs.
By England, from United States, 522,530,800	"
By France,‡ from United States, 147,000,000	"
By France, from Brazil, say, 3,000,000	"
By other continental countries, from United States, . . .	128,800,000 "
By United States, growth of United States, . . . . .	270,000,000 "
Total slave labor consumption, . . . . .	1,101,330,800 lbs.

*Free Labor Cotton consumed in 1849.*

By England, from all sources, 71,469,200	lbs.
By France, say, . . . . .	6,000,000 "
By other continental countries,    1,120,000	"
Total free labor consumption, . . . . .	78,589,200 lbs.
Grand total cotton consumption, . . . . .	1,179,920,000 "

That this exhibit of the cotton question is not an exaggerated statement, got up for effect, but is within the limits of the truth, will appear evident when the extent of the production of cotton is taken into consideration. By the Custom House books of commercial nations, all imports and exports of merchandise are easily ascertained.

The following statement, embracing only the quantity of cotton consumed in the United States and exported from it, and the amount imported into England from other countries than the United States, in 1849, will be sufficient for our purpose.

Exports of cotton from the United States, . . .	1,026,602,269 lbs.
Amount consumed in the United States, . . .	270,000,000 "
Amount imported into England from East Indies, Egypt, Brazil, &c., . . . . .	133,120,800 "
Total, . . . . .	1,429,723,069 "
Amount included in our estimates, . . . .	1,179,920,000 "
Surplus over our estimates, . . . . .	249,803,069 "

\* See table, page 17, present Lecture.

† Present Lecture, p. 19.

‡ Present Lecture, p. 15.

|| London Economist, 1850, p. 103.

After this exhibition of facts, we have no fears that the fairness of our statements will be called in question. Indeed, a close scrutiny will show that we have not pressed into the tables of slave grown cotton, all that we might have done. All the foreign imports of cotton, not the growth of the United States, that were not re-exported by England, are counted as consumed, thus reducing the proportion of the slave labor cotton of the United States by the amount of the former remaining unconsumed. We wish it also to be noticed, that we have included in the list of slave labor cotton consumed in England, in 1849, only 522,530,800 lbs. from the United States, while in that year, she imported of our cotton, 755,469,008 lbs., being an excess over the amount included in the quantity consumed, nearly equal to the surplus above stated, and proving that that surplus must be mostly the product of slave labor.

We may now safely place, in contrast, the figures representing the proportions of *Free Labor* and of *Slave Labor Cotton* consumed by the United States and Europe, in 1849, and claim, that, so far as this commodity is concerned, our second proposition is triumphantly sustained. Look at the figures :

Total slave labor cotton consumption, . . . . .	1,101,330,000 lbs.
Total free labor cotton consumption, . . . . .	<u>78,589,200</u> "
Excess of consumption of slave labor over free labor cotton, . . . . .	<u>1,022,741,600</u> "

Your attention is now called to the article of *Coffee*. As England occupies the most prominent position upon the subject of African freedom, and is making the most determined struggles to stimulate free labor, and make it compete with slave labor, her connection with this question, as with all the others, becomes one of great interest. Up to 1825, a discriminating duty of 56 shillings per cwt. was levied upon coffee from British India, for the benefit of the English West India colonies. At that time, this duty was but little felt, because, owing to the excessive duty levied upon all descriptions of coffee, the consumption of the kingdom was below the supply from the West Indies, and the surplus had to seek a market elsewhere. In 1825, the discriminating duty was reduced to 28 shillings the cwt. The duty after this time stood thus :

West India coffee paid 6d. per lb., or 56s. per cwt.

East India " " 9d. " or 84s. "

and all other kinds were, and still are, charged 1s. 3d. per. lb., or 140s. per cwt., amounting to a prohibition.

The consumption of coffee in Great Britain, after these changes in the tariff, increased from 8,000,000 lbs., in 1824, to 22,000,000, in 1830. The demand created by this increased consumption, could

\* Rep. Sec. Treas. U. S., on Commerce and Navigation.

† Present Lecture, p. 16. ‡ See table, p. 16, present Lecture

|| Present Lecture, p. 19. § Present Lecture, p. 15.

¶ London Economist, 1850, p. 103. \*\* Present Lecture, p. 15.

not be supplied by the West India planters, and the price rose 39 per cent., so as to bring the East India coffee into use.

At the time of the reduction of the duties, West India coffee sold at 90*s.* the cwt., but it advanced to 125*s.* without effecting an increased production. The quantity annually imported from the West Indies, in the five years that preceded the reduction of the duty in 1825, averaged 30,280,360 lbs., and from 1832 to 1836, only 19,812,160 lbs., being a reduction of 34 per cent. in the supply, notwithstanding an advance of 39 per cent. in the price. This result led to another modification of the coffee duties in 1835, when East India coffee was admitted on equal terms with that of the West Indies.

While the duty on East India coffee was 9*d.* per lb., the amount increased, because of the increase of price of West India coffee, from about 300,000 lbs. a year, to 1,500,000 lbs. In 1835, the consumption of East India coffee amounted to 5,596,791 lbs., and in 1837 reached 9,114,793 lbs.\*

The following table, embracing the whole field of the extent of the production and consumption of coffee, is so full and satisfactory, that nothing more can be needed to a clear understanding of the subject. It was prepared in December, 1849, by CAMPBELL, ARNOTT & Co., the great Liverpool coffee merchants, and may be relied upon as possessing much accuracy.

*Comparative View of Production and Consumption of Coffee.*

COUNTRIES PRODUCING.	1832.	1838.	1843.	1848.
Brazil, .....	73,920,000	112,000,000	188,160,000	280,000,000
Java and Sumatra, .....	60,400,000	98,560,000	159,800,000	131,400,000
Cuba, .....	49,280,000	49,280,000	49,280,000	22,400,000
Porto Rico, Laguayra, and Costa Rica, .....	20,160,000	22,400,000	24,640,000	33,600,000
St. Domingo, .....	44,800,000	35,080,000	40,320,000	33,600,000
British West Indies, and Ceylon, .....	26,205,000	21,952,000	19,040,000	35,080,000
Dutch West Indies, .....	4,480,000	3,360,000	3,360,000	2,240,000
French East and West Indies, .....	11,200,000	8,960,000	8,960,000	6,720,000
Mocha, India, &c., .....	11,200,000	6,720,000	6,720,000	4,480,000
Total Production, .....	301,728,000	361,312,000	497,280,000	555,520,000
Deduct consumption of United States, .....	49,280,000	89,600,000	123,200,000	156,800,000
Balance for Europe, .....	252,448,000	271,712,000	374,080,000	398,720,000
COUNTRIES CONSUMING	1832	1838	1843	1848
Great Britain, .....	23,520,000	25,312,000	31,360,000	38,080,000
France and transit, and Switzerland, .....	33,600,000	36,064,000	40,320,000	44,800,000
Holland, Belgium, and Germany, .....	152,320,000	190,400,000	219,520,000	232,960,000
Russia, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, .....	11,200,000	15,680,000	22,400,000	26,880,000
Italy, Austria, Levant, Greece, and Turkey, .....	34,720,000	40,320,000	51,520,000	58,240,000
Spain and Portugal, .....	6,720,000	8,960,000	11,200,000	13,440,000
Total Consumption, .....	262,050,000	316,736,000	376,320,000	414,400,000
Surplus on the 30th of December, .....	117,600,000	94,752,000	177,632,000	159,936,000

\* Porter's Progress of the Nation, Vol. II., p. 118, 119.

In 1821, the United States consumed 11,866,063 lbs. of coffee. The duty was then five cents per lb. and remained at this rate until 1831, when it was reduced to two cents, and in 1832 to one cent.

In 1833 coffee was admitted free of duty, and has so remained ever since that date. The consumption of that year was 75,057,906 lbs., to which it had gradually risen from the 11,866,000 lbs. of 1821. From this date, the consumption of coffee in the United States, had a rapid increase until 1847, when it had reached 150,332,992 lbs.\* In 1848 the consumption was 156,000,000 lbs.†

As all our investigations have reference to the question of the extent to which Christian governments are consuming slave labor products, it becomes necessary to refer to the sources whence the coffee imported by each is obtained. It stands thus:

England, by her discriminating duties, *almost entirely excludes slave labor coffee*, and derives nearly the whole amount of her consumption of that article from her own colonies. Of the 34,431,074 lbs. of coffee imported for England for home consumption, 29,769,730 lbs. were from her own colonies, and only 4,661,344 from elsewhere.||

According to the table of Campbell, Arnott, and Co., the quantity of coffee produced in slave labor countries, including Brazil, the Dutch West Indies, Cuba, Porto Rico, &c., in 1848, was 338,240,000 lbs., while in the remaining coffee growing countries, which were all free labor, (France, in that year, having emancipated the slaves in her colonies,) the production was only 217,800,000 lbs., being less than that of the product of slave labor, *by nearly one-third*, or 120,440,000 lbs. As Holland, Belgium, and Germany, consume 98,560,000 lbs. of coffee more than is produced in Java and Sumatra, this excess is probably all slave grown produce. Looking at the small product of the colonies of France, and her large consumption, the conclusion is, that the greater portion of what she uses must be the product of slave labor.

The following table points to the sources whence the United States derives its coffee, and the extent to which she is dependent upon slave labor for that article.

*Imports of Coffee into the United States, for the year 1848. ‡*

Countries whence imported.	Coffee, lbs.	Countries whence imported.	Coffee, lbs.
Swedish West Indies.....	510	Hayti .....	16,990,976
Danish do. do. ....	56,702	New Granada.....	328,971
Dutch do. do. ....	2,001	Venezuela.....	12,720,613
British do. do. ....	3,037,373	Brazil .....	111,657,395
Dutch East Indies.....	141,077	Cisplatine Republic.....	507,810
British do. do. ....	710,331	Chili .....	37,136
Holland .....	2,381,773	Africa generally .....	57,567
Manilla and Phillipine Is.	25,484	Asia generally .....	167,400
Cuba .....	2,258,710	France on Atlantic .....	1,923
Other Spanish W. I. ....	384,393	Total, lbs.	151,412,125

\* Rep. Sec. Treas. U. S., Dec. 1, 1847. † Campbell, Arnott, and Co.

‡ Rep. Sec. Treas. on Coin. & Nav., 1848 & 9, the year ending June 30, 1848.

|| London Qr. Rev. April, 1850.

Of the coffee imported, as above, that from Brazil, Cuba, and other Spanish and Dutch West Indies, amounting to 114,294,214 lbs., was all slave labor produce. Taking all the remaining imports as the product of free labor, and they only afford us 37,117,911 lbs., or a half million less than one-fourth of the amount imported. Thus stands the coffee question in the United States.

From the preceding statistics it appears that the United States and the nations of Europe are now consuming, annually, or have as stock on hand, about 555,520,000 lbs. of coffee, divided as follows:

The product of slave labor . . . . .	338,240,000 lbs.
The product of free labor . . . . .	217,280,000 lbs.
Difference in favor of slave labor . . . .	120,960,000 lbs.

Next, and last, the article of *Sugar* claims attention. "It was unknown to the ancients, as an article of consumption. In Europe it was introduced as late as the fifteenth century." The first sample of West India sugar was manufactured in Jamaica, in 1673. The rapidity with which its production, and consumption, has increased, will be indicated by the following table, showing the exports of sugar from Jamaica. This table is made up from one in Martin's British Colonies, a work of great research; the facts of which are derived from official sources. The statistics have been condensed so as to give the average annual exports from 1772 to 1836, and there is added, from Blackwood's Magazine, those from 1839 to 1843, and from 1846 to 1848.\* A few years omitted in the earlier periods, are blanks in Martin's tables. From 1804, onward, where different results from the general average are found, we give the years separately. This arrangement is important, to enable us to judge of the influence which *the prohibition of the slave trade* exerted upon the prosperity of that and the other West India Islands; and to determine the period when the decline in the amount of Jamaica exports had its origin.

Average annual exports of Sugar from Jamaica, for the periods stated.†

Years.	lbs. Sugar.	Years.	lbs. Sugar.
1772 to 1775	123,979,700	1809 to 1810	180,963,825
1788 to 1791	143,794,837	1811 alone.	218,874,600
1793 to 1798	145,598,850	1812 to 1821	183,706,280
1799 to 1803	193,781,140	1822 to 1832	153,760,431
1804 alone.	177,436,750	1833 to 1835	131,129,100
1805 alone.	237,751,150	1836 alone	75,990,950
1806 alone.	231,656,650	1839 to 1843	67,924,800
1807 to 1808	197,963,825	1846 to 1848§	67,539,200

|| Present Lecture, p. 10.

§ Ibid.

As heretofore stated.‡ the effects of the abolition of the slave trade, in 1808, and of the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, upon the

\* See present Lecture, p. 10.

† Page 7, present Lecture.

‡ The tables of Martin give the exports in hhds. tierces, and bbls. We have reduced the whole to lbs., estimating the hhd. at 1600 lbs., the tierce at 900 lbs., and the barrel at 250 lbs., as per best authorities.

commercial interests of Jamaica, will serve as a true index to the results in all the English West India colonies.

The course of legislation in England, for several years past, has tended to increase the consumption of sugar by augmenting the supply. Up to 1844 all foreign sugars were excluded, and her own colonies enjoyed a strict monopoly of her markets. But the failures of her West India possessions, after emancipation, to furnish their usual supplies, led, in 1844, to the admission of foreign *free labor* sugar for consumption, and, in 1846, to that of *slave labor* sugar also.

In 1848, the London Quarterly Review\* says, that the amount taken for consumption, of foreign slave grown sugar, was 229,748,-096 lbs. We have been unable to ascertain the total annual consumption of slave grown sugar, in England, since 1846, but find, by the London Economist,† that, for the first *eleven months* of each year, it has been as follows :

1846	lbs.	57,902,544		1848	lbs.	118,366,976
1847	"	104,838,048		1849	"	63,517,888

The total imports of sugar into England, and the amount re-exported, were as follows :

<i>English imports.</i> ‡			<i>English re-exports.</i>		
1846	lbs.	—	lbs.	29,624,432	
1847	"	—	"	96,613,992	
1848	"	852,792,976	"	48,735,008	
1849	"	928,002,208	"	84,768,096	

The difference between the imports and re-exports is the amount taken for consumption, and the difference between this and the actual consumption indicates the stock left on hand at the close of the year.

The whole amount of sugar consumed in England, in 1831,§ was over 450,000,000 lbs. From 1844 to 1849, the consumption of this article, including molasses at its equivalent in sugar, was as follows : ¶

1844	lbs.	486,648,960		1847	lbs.	675,329,120
1845	"	570,127,040		1848	"	692,256,320
1846	"	609,781,760		1849	"	728,931,600

By taking the average consumption of 1848 and 1849, a true idea of the present annual demand for sugar, in the English market, will be afforded :

It was, per annum, . . . . . lbs. 710,593,960  
Of which slave-grown sugar\*\* constituted, say, 146,000,000

Leaving England's consumption of free labor sugar, 564,593,960

\* See present Lecture, p. 11.

† 1850, p. 86.

‡ London Economist, 1850, p. 169.

|| Ib., p. 170.

§ Present Lecture, p. 11.

¶ Lond. Economist, 1850, p. 170.

\*\* See page 27.—Allowing all the exports from the English Colonies to be imported and consumed by her, the whole amount is less than her consumption, by about 146,000,000 lbs.

The sources of England's supply of sugar can be seen at once, in the annexed table. The amounts stated, however, are only for the *first eleven months* of each year, and do not give the whole quantity imported and entered for consumption.

*Sugar entered in the first eleven months of each year, for consumption.\**

Year.	West Indies.	Mauritius.	East India.	Total colonial.	Total foreign.
1846	244,737,136	93,879,520	150,773,616	489,390,272	57,902,544
1847	261,306,080	112,783,216	124,300,144	498,399,440	104,838,048
1848	283,772,036	86,086,896	140,658,572	510,517,404	134,046,976
1849	319,032,896	106,993,152	138,867,792	564,893,616	47,837,888

We add another table, which embraces the whole of the *exports* from *all* the British colonies, from 1840 to 1849, and exhibits their extent for the *twelve months* of each year.

*Exports of Sugar from all the British Colonial Possessions.†*

Years.	Ibs. Sugar.	Remarks.	Years.	Ibs. Sugar.	Remarks.
1840	365,060,192	Strict monopoly	1845	551,336,992	Fr. lab. sug. adm.
1841	473,177,488	" "	1846	501,061,904	Foreign, of all
1842	463,220,064	" "	1847	700,906,576	kinds, adm.
1843	459,557,728	" "	1848	566,077,792	" "
1844	459,495,696	" "	1849	583,024,400	" "

This table includes the entire sources of supply possessed by England within her own colonies, and shows that their exports of sugar, were

Short of her consumption, in 1849, by 145,907,200 pounds.

Short of her total imports, do. 344,977,808 "

But it must here be remarked, that the whole exports *from* the British colonies are not always *imported* into England, because a portion of their products are taken by other countries. In 1848, the United States imported from the British West India Islands, 1,258,222 lbs. of sugar, and in 1849, 1,245,492 lbs. It must be recollect, then, that the *exports* from her colonies are not always the measure of England's *imports* from them, and that, therefore, the amount of *her* supplies of cotton, sugar, coffee, &c., from her colonies, are not always equal to *their* exports.

The production of cane sugar in the United States, until recently, was confined to Louisiana. The rapidity with which it has progressed, in this country, furnishes a useful lesson for the little Republic of Liberia. She possesses the best quality of sugar lands, and has around her an unlimited amount of labor that may be made available.

The following table presents the amount of the crops of sugar produced in Louisiana, at nearly equal intervals, during thirty years :

\* London Economist, 1850, p. 86.

† London Economist, from Parl. Rep. 351, 1850.

and shows the extent of our domestic supply of cane sugar.\* The production of maple sugar, in 1840,† was about 30,000,000 lbs.

*Table of crops of Louisiana Sugar.*

Years.	lbs. Sugar.	Years.	lbs. Sugar.
1818	18,000,000	1844-5	204,916,000
1824-5	30,000,000	1848-9	220,000,000
1829-30	73,000,000	1849-50*	269,769,000
1834-5	110,000,000	" Texas,†	10,000,000
1839-40	119,457,000	Lou. gals. molas.	12,000,000

\* New Orleans Commercial Bulletin.

† Ibid.

The imports of foreign cane sugar into the United States, for the last two years, were as follows : ‡

1848	.	.	.	257,138,230
1849	.	.	.	259,324,126

Of these amounts the following were the proportions of free and of slave labor :

*Imports of Free and of Slave Labor Sugar into the United States.||*

Slave labor.	lbs. 1848	lbs. 1849	Free Labor.	lbs. 1848	lbs. 1849
From Cuba.	181,058,107	183,011,744	Sw. & Dan W.I.	2,734,970	2,695,899
other Sp.W.I.	47,778,973	51,483,166	Dhi.E.I., Hol. etc.	2,432,305	665,050
Brazil.	6,687,657	11,131,457	Haiti.	357,091	4,617
Dutch W. I.	513,977	737,855	Manilla, &c.	12,546,098	6,649,132
Guiana.	32,455	209,755	China.	352,032	1,060,372
Total slv. gr.	236,071,169	246,573,977	Br. W. I., &c.	2,096,683	1,292,761
" free lab.	21,067,061	12,695,355	Other countries.	547,882	327,524
Excess sl. lb.	215,025,548	233,878,622	Total free labor.	21,067,061	12,695,355

The exports of domestic sugar from the United States is very limited, being for 1848 only 3,522,779 lbs., and for 1849 but 2,356,104 lbs.

Of the foreign imports, there were re-exported for 1848, 13,686,- 510, and for 1849, only 6,473,800 lbs. §

To arrive at the amount of the consumption of sugar in the United States, the quantity exported must be deducted from the amount of the *imports* and of the *domestic production*. In doing this, we have allowed the re-exports of foreign sugar all to have been of the *slave labor* production, and thus afford an advantage to the figures representing the *free labor* sugar consumed in the United States. Making these deductions, the following results are produced :

\* Ed. D. Mansfield, Esq., of Cincinnati Chronicle.

† See Census, 1840.

‡ Rep. Sec. Treas. U. S., on Com. and Nav.

|| Rep. Sec. Treas. U. S., on Com. and Nav.

§ The molasses imported into the United States, amounted, in 1849, to 23,- 796,806 gallons, of which only 756,339 gallons were of free labor. Of these imports 793,535 gals. were re-exported.

## Consumption of Cane Sugar in the United States.

	lbs. 1848	lbs. 1849
Growth of the U. S., less the exports,	216,477,921	277,402,896
Slave labor imports,      "      "	222,384,759	240,699,177
Slave labor Sugar consumed, U. S.,	438,861,980	517,502,073
Free labor Sugar,      "      "	21,067,061	12,695,355
Total Sugar consumption,	459,929,041	530,197,428
Excess of slave grown,      do.	417,794,919	504,806,718

The consumption of sugar in France, in 1848, was about 290,000,000 lbs. Of this quantity, 140,000,000 lbs. were of *beet root sugar*, produced in France. The production of *cane sugar* in the French colonies, in 1840, was 161,500,000 lbs.\* For the first nine months of 1847, they supplied to France 163,884,177 lbs., but for the same period of 1849, only 96,929,336 lbs., being a falling off, as heretofore stated, of 71,854,841 lbs. the first nine months after freedom.† The production of beet root sugar is increasing every year. A heavy duty upon foreign sugar nearly excludes it from the French market, and thus, since her emancipation act of 1848, France may be considered as *consuming very little slave grown sugar*.

We have been unable to procure the statistics of the production and consumption of sugar as fully as those of coffee and cotton.‡ But they are sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes. For England and the United States they are ample, but for the continent somewhat imperfect. The August number of Hunt's Merchant's Magazine contains a statement, from the House of EATON, SAFFORD & FOX, of Cuba, of the production and consumption of sugar throughout the world. Although imperfect in a few cases, it enables us to reach a close approximation to the amount of *slave and free labor sugars annually produced*. Taking the whole of the authorities we have consulted, and they warrant us in stating the production of slave grown sugars as follows:

Cuba and Porto Rico .....	672,000,000 lbs.
Brazil .....	268,000,000 "
United States .....	<u>280,000,000 "</u>
Total slave grown sugar.....	1,220,000,000 lbs.

This amount does not include the production of the Dutch colonies in the West Indies and Guiana, where slavery still exists. The statement is *short* by that amount, and we have been unable to find it given separately from that of the Dutch East India possessions. Of this slave grown sugar England and the United States consume 663,502,000 lbs. annually. This leaves, of slave grown sugars for the continental countries of Europe, 556,498,000 lbs. The whole consumption of these countries, excepting France, but including Russia,

\* We are indebted to M. DUREAU, a French gentleman engaged in the collection of sugar statistics, for these facts. † See present Lecture, p. 12.

‡ In obtaining our cotton statistics, we have been much indebted to Mr. THOMAS FRANKLAND, of the Society of Friends, recently from England, whose acquaintance we made at the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, in Cincinnati.

Turkey, and Egypt, is estimated by Eaton, Safford & Fox, at 765,-375,000. From this, deduct the above balance of slave grown sugar, and there is left to be supplied by free labor, a demand of 208,877,000.

To determine the probable accuracy of the result last stated, we have taken the exports of *free labor sugar* from the British possessions, as determined by our former investigations, and those of the other sugar-producing countries, as estimated in the article in Hunt's Magazine. The result is as follows :

English possessions .....	583,024,000 lbs.
Holland possessions .....	120,000,000 "
Danish and Swedish possessions .....	20,000,000 "
German and Belgian, including <i>beet sugar</i> .....	30,000,000 "
Excess of production over consumption in the South American Republics, Egypt, and China .....	30,000,000 "
Total free labor sugar for European and United States consumption .....	783,024,000 lbs.
Deduct free labor sugar consumed by United States and England .....	577,289,000 "
Balance left for continent, exclusive of France .....	205,735,000 lbs.

But this statement of free labor sugar contains some of the *beet root* and all of the slave-grown sugar of the Dutch slave labor colonies. The estimates of Brazil, on the other hand, have no deduction for home consumption, so that the figures above given, no doubt represent, very nearly, the consumption of free and slave labor sugars on the continent.

We may now sum the whole results of our labors in one condensed table, so as to exhibit *the present relations of free labor to slave labor, and the indebtedness of the christian world to slavery* for these articles of prime necessity.

*Total consumption of Free Labor and of Slave Labor Cotton, Coffee, and Cane Sugar, by the countries named in the foregoing investigations.*

Countries consuming.	Slave labor lbs. cotton.	Free labor lbs. cotton.	Slave labor lbs. coffee.*	Free labor lbs. coffee.	Slave labor lbs. sugar.	Free labor lbs. sugar.
Great Britain.....	552,530,800	71,469,200	4,661,344	33,418,156	146,000,000	564,593,960
United States .....	270,000,000	.....	119,652,189	37,117,911	517,502,000	12,695,355
France.....	150,000,000	6,000,000			none.	
Other continental countries .....	123,800,000	1,120,000	213,896,647	147,213,933	556,498,000	150,000,000
Total of each.....	1,101,330,500	78,589,200	338,240,000	217,800,000	1,220,000,000	933,024,315
Slave lbs. excess..	1,022,741,600	.....	120,440,000	.....	286,975,655	.....

\* Add the consumption of the United States to that of England, and deduct the amount from the total Slave labor consumption, to find the amount of Slave Labor coffee consumed by France and the continent.

III. That the legislative measures adopted for the destruction of the slave trade and slavery, especially by England, have tended to increase and extend the evils they were designed to destroy.

In the outset of the investigations demanded to sustain this proposition, it is necessary to refer to the condition of slavery and the slave trade before measures had been taken to arrest their progress. The statistical tables, in the present lecture, show that the commercial prosperity of the English and French West India colonies had reached its maximum about the period when the first acts having reference to the removal of the oppressions which had afflicted the African people, were adopted by these governments. England's act, prohibiting the slave trade, was passed in 1807, and took effect in 1808. In

1805 and 1806, the exports of sugar from Jamaica were over 230,000,000 lbs.,\* for each year, and from the whole English West Indies, it was about 636,000,000 lbs. The article of sugar is referred to, because it is the principal one exported from these islands. From 1827 to 1831, the period preceding the emancipation of the English West India slaves, the exports of sugar from these colonies were reduced to an annual average of 448,665,520 lbs., or nearly *one-third*, and from Jamaica alone, from 1829 to 1833, to 152,561,800 lbs.,† or more than *one-third*. This was twenty-five years after the prohibition of the slave trade, when ample time to show its effects had elapsed. The act of emancipation was passed in 1833, took effect in 1834, and the freedom of the slaves was perfected in 1838.

The effect of emancipation was a still farther reduction of the exports from these colonies—the whole exports, in 1848, being only 313,506,112 lbs.,‡ or more than *one-half less* than in 1807, and Jamaica itself but 67,539,200 lbs., or nearly *three-fourths less* than in 1807.

The first direct act of the French, in reference to African freedom, was the proclamation of General Le Clerc,§ in 1802, proclaiming liberty and equality to all the inhabitants of Hayti, without regard to color. The exports of sugar from that island in 1790, were 163,318,810 lbs.|| Its prosperity was at once greatly impaired by the revolution, and at present its exports of sugar are almost nothing.

Had a reduction of the quantity of sugar, coffee, or cotton, consequent upon the suppression of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves, been the only effects of these efforts to benefit the African race, the world would have submitted to the sacrifice without a murmur, because the present *cheap* and *abundant* supplies of these articles would have been unknown. But far different from the results anticipated, were the consequences of these measures upon the welfare of the African people. We shall proceed to trace them.

England and the United States, in prohibiting the slave trade, did but obey the dictates of a moral power emanating from a philanthropic public sentiment. It was an act demanded by the Christian principle of these countries. But in the plan of its execution, we have lamentable evidence of the limited wisdom and foresight of man in grappling with evils of great magnitude.

In 1808, when the slave trade was prohibited by England and the United States, Africa was annually losing 35,000\* of her population by the slave trade. Of this number 19 per cent. perished in the middle passage, making available, to the slave purchasers, 77,000 slaves. But the discontinuance of the slave trade, by these two powers, by no means diminished the evil sought to be destroyed. *From that day the export of slaves from Africa increased*, and from 1810 to 1815, she was robbed yearly of 93,000 of her population; and

\* See present Lecture, pages 13 and 32.

† See present Lecture, p. 10.      ‡ Ib.      § Ib. p. 8.      || Ib. p. 11.

from 1815 to 1819 of 106,000 annually. Of the latter, 25 per cent. perished in the "middle passage," so that out of 106,000 torn from Africa, but 79,400 reached the planters, or only 2,400 more than they had obtained when the exports from Africa were but 85,000. With the exception of 1830 to 1835, the exports of slaves from Africa continued to increase until the close of 1839, when they reached the appalling number of 135,800 a year, with a continued loss of 25 per cent. of the number in their transportation.

The following tables, prepared by a select committee of the House of Commons, showing the state of the African slave trade with relation to America, for the last sixty years, convey a clear view of the state of this traffic during that period.\*

*Number of SLAVES computed to have been Exported and Imported westward from Africa, from 1788 to 1840.*

DATE	Am't of Slaves Exported.	Average casual- ties during the Voyage.		Slaves import- ed into Spanish colonies.	Imported into Portuguese colonies.	Imported into other countries.	Total amount of slaves imported.
		Av'rg pr'r- tion.	Am't.				
In 1788 .....	100,000	14 p. c.	14,000	25,000	18,000	44,000	86,000
1798 to 1805	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	20,000	38,000	73,000
1805 to 1810	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	25,000	33,000	73,000
1810 to 1815	93,000	14 "	13,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	80,000
1815 to 1817	106,600	25 "	26,600	32,000	31,000	17,000	80,000
1817 to 1819	106,600	25 "	26,600	34,000	34,000	12,000	80,000
Yearly average from 1819 to 1840	103,000	25 "	25,800	39,000	37,000	1,200	77,200

*Number of SLAVES computed to have been annually Exported and Imported westward from Africa, from 1840 to 1848.*

DATE.	Am't of slaves expt'd.	Average casualties during the voyage.		Slaves import- ed into Spanish colonies	Import- ed into Brazil.	Captur- ed by cruis'rs.	Total amount of slaves import'd.
		Average proportion	Am't.				
1840	64,114	25 pr cent.	16,068	14,470	30,000	3,616	48,086
1841	45,097	25 "	11,274	11,857	16,000	5,966	33,823
1842	28,400	25 "	7,100	3,150	14,200	3,950	21,300
1843	55,062	25 "	13,765	8,000	30,500	2,797	41,297
1844	54,102	25 "	13,525	10,000	26,000	4,577	40,577
1845	36,758	25 "	9,189	1,350	22,700	3,519	27,569
1846	76,117	25 "	19,029	1,700	52,600	2,788	57,088
1847	84,356	25 "	21,089	1,500	57,800	3,967	68,267

\* Westminster Review, 1850, p. 263.

But why this disastrous defeat of the benevolent designs of England and the United States, in their efforts to suppress the slave trade? The question is easily answered. The diminution of the exports from the British West Indies, being more than one-half, equaled a loss of 420,000 of her former 800,000 slaves. France had lost *three-fifths*\* of her annual colonial supplies of sugar and other products, in the emancipation, or death by war, of her 480,000 slaves in Hayti.† The 163,300,000‡ lbs. of sugar lost by these events, had to be supplied to France by increased production in her remaining colonies. This required an additional amount of labor, equaling what had been rendered unavailable in Hayti, or 480,000 men; and this number, added to England's equivalent loss of 420,000, making in all 900,000 slaves, *had to be procured from Africa, and to be renewed every seven years.*§

Following the example of France, Spain and Portugal immediately commenced extending their cultivation, in Cuba and Brazil, by a vigorous prosecution of the slave trade. They were encouraged in the execution of this design, in the opening markets created for their products by the diminishing exports of the English and French colonies. The withdrawal of the English and American slave merchants from the African coast, removed all rivalry, except that of France; and in a little over thirty years, slave grown products increased nearly three-fourths above what they had been when the slave trade was prohibited.||

These facts being stated, it is easily seen why the slave trade should have increased with such rapidity, and to such an amazing extent. For each slave emancipated by England and France, who refused to labor as he had done while a slave, (for which no man will blame him, but which, it was predicted, he would do out of *gratitude* to his benefactor,) another had to be obtained from Africa to make up the loss to commerce.

But in addition to the *diminished supply* of tropical products, occasioned by the prohibition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, there has been a vastly *increased consumption* of some of the commodities upon which slave labor has been employed; and, as before remarked, all this rapidly increasing demand had to be supplied by slave labor. Hence, the enormous increase of the slave trade, notwithstanding the efforts made for its suppression.

But where was the error, in the legislation by England, on this subject? It was in this: She should, before taking any action herself, have obtained the consent of the other European powers, to unite in disallowing the slave trade to their subjects. At that day some of the articles now so profitably employing slave labor, were comparatively unimportant to commerce. People, then, were more desirous of escaping from the evils of slavery than they are at present, and

\* Present Lecture, p. 8. † Ib. ‡ Ib. p. 11. § Ib. p. 7.

|| See Lecture first, p. 38, for McQueen's statement of this fact.

efficient measures for emancipation could have been more easily executed.

But England's first act of philanthropy was done at a moment when her manufacturing operations were rapidly growing up into great *national interests*, that could not be checked or dispensed with, and the ultimate importance of which could not then be foreseen. While, therefore, on the one hand, she was afterward pleading the cause of humanity, and urging the abandonment of the slave trade and of slavery, upon other nations; on the other, her own *diminishing supplies* of tropical products, and *increasing cotton manufactures and sugar consumption*, were creating, at home and abroad, that *increasing demand for slave labor products*, which supplied the chief aliment that sustained the foreign slave trade and foreign slave labor cultivation. And even when Great Britain partially succeeded, by *bonus*\* or by treaty, in gaining over a nation to her measures, alas! there was not that *virtuous public sentiment*, such as had existed in England and the United States, to act over upon that nation, and to encourage or impel it onward in the execution of its noble and humane engagements.

An outline of British legislation, in reference to the admission of tropical commodities to her markets, will show how effectually her *legislation at home* defeated *negotiation abroad*.

Up to 1844, the British colonies enjoyed a practical monopoly of the British markets. The duty on foreign sugar was 63 s. per cwt., on sugar the growth of her East India possessions and Mauritius, 37 s. per cwt., and on that of her West India Colonies, only 27 s. per cwt.† In 1844 the first inroad was made, the act taking effect in November of that year, by which foreign *free labor* sugar was admitted at a lower duty.‡ This act terminated the monopoly which the British colonies had in the markets of the mother country, and allowed the introduction of the free labor sugars of Java and Manilla for consumption in England; while Holland and Spain compensated themselves for the amount of their usual supplies thus diverted to a profitable market, by sending to Cuba and Brazil for a sufficient quantity of their cheaper slave labor sugar to make up the deficiency.§

In 1845, a general reduction of the sugar duties was made, which reduced the protection against foreign slave grown sugars one-half, and in 1846, the final act was passed, admitting all foreign sugars on advantageous terms. This act made a progressive reduction, during three years, of the duties on foreign sugar, until in 1849, when those on foreign and colonial were to become equal to each other.|| In 1848 however, another act was passed by Parliament, postponing, for three years, the equalization of the duties to be levied on foreign and colo-

\* A bonus was paid to Portugal, in 1815, to conclude a treaty to abandon the slave trade, and near the same time, by a similar treaty with Spain, she received from England \$2,000,000, and afterward evaded her engagement.—Ed. Rev., July 1836.

† Westminster Rev. 1850, p. 276. ‡ London Economist, 1850, p. 85

§ See Lecture first, p. 41. || Blackwood's Mag. 184, p. 5.

nial sugars, and thus, seemingly, affording a slight protection to the colonies until 1854. But the difference in duties, owing to the manner in which the scale is arranged, and the greater cheapness of slave-labor cultivation, makes the law afford only a nominal protection and be of little practical value. The duties, per cwt., on foreign and colonial sugars, stand as follows since the last enactment, and will be equal on all kinds in July, 1854.<sup>f</sup>

MUSCOVADOS.					
To 5 July, 1850.	To 5 July, 1851.	To 5 July, 1852.	To 5 July, 1853.	To 5 July, 1854.	Fr'm 5 July, 1854.
£. s. d.					
British 0 11 0	0 11 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0
Foreign 0 17 0	0 15 6	0 14 0	0 13 0	0 12 0	0 10 0

  

WHITE CLAYED.					
British 0 14 0	0 12 10	0 11 8	0 11 8	0 11 8	0 11 8
Foreign 0 19 10	0 18 1	0 16 4	0 15 2	0 14 0	0 11 8

  

WHITE REFINED.					
British 0 16 0	0 14 8	0 13 4	0 13 4	0 13 4	0 13 4
Foreign 1 4 8	1 2 8	1 0 8	0 19 4	0 17 4	0 13 4

  

MOLASSES.					
British 0 4 6	0 4 2	0 3 9	0 3 9	0 3 9	0 3 9
Foreign 0 6 4	0 5 9	0 5 3	0 4 10	0 4 6	0 3 9

The immense falling off in the exports of the British West India colonies, which had taken place after emancipation, and the impossibility of her East India possessions supplying the deficiency, left the government of Great Britain no other alternative but a reduction of the sugar duties, and the *admission of slave grown sugar*. A struggle to stimulate West India industry had been continued thirteen years, from 1833 to 1846, resulting only in taxing the English people by *protective duties*, \$150,000,000<sup>f</sup> more than the consumers of other countries had paid for an equal quantity of sugar, and the effort had to be abandoned.

For many years her West India colonies had supplied to England more sugar than was necessary for home consumption, allowing the government to force off that of her East India possessions into other markets, by a differential duty of 10 shillings the cwt. in favor of her West Indies. But in 1846, her own consumption of sugar was 609,781,760 lbs.,<sup>g</sup> and the total exports of all her West India colonies only 277,252,400 lbs.,<sup>h</sup> and with that of the East Indies and Mauritius added, but 501,061,904 lbs.,<sup>i</sup> an amount, even if England received it all, not sufficient for her home consumption by 108,119,856 lbs. By this result the whole field of the foreign markets, *formerly supplied with English sugar*, was left open for that of slave labor products.

The impulse given to the efforts of other nations, in the prosecution of the slave trade, when it was abandoned by England and the United States, received no check, as is shown by the foregoing

<sup>f</sup> Westminster Rev. 1850, p. 276.

<sup>g</sup> Westminster Review, 1850, p. 275. <sup>h</sup> Present Lecture, p. 26.

<sup>i</sup> Present Lecture, p. 10. <sup>j</sup> Present Lecture, p. 27.

table,\* until 1830, when a reduction of the price of sugar from 44*s.* 6*d.* the cwt. to 24*s.* 8*d.*, diminished the export of slaves from Africa 37 per cent. But this depression lasted only during the time that the price of sugar continued at that reduced rate. In 1836, sugar again rose to 29*s.* 3*d.* the cwt., and gave an impetus to the slave trade that increased the export of slaves from Africa 73 per cent., or to 135,800 per annum from that till the close of 1839.†

But 1840 constitutes an epoch in the history of the slave trade, because, during that year, the first successful check was given to it, and the hope created that it could be annihilated. From that period until 1847, the varying results will be found in the foregoing Parliamentary tables. By the first table it will be seen, that the African slave trade had reached its maximum from 1835 to 1839, when the average annual exports were 135,800, and that in 1840 it was suddenly reduced to 64,114.

This reduction was effected through the unwearying efforts of England, stimulated, in a great measure, it is believed, by the commercial considerations referred to in our first Lecture. Be this as it may, by her influence, the authorities of Brazil, in 1840 and 1841, made the attempt to suppress the slave trade, and the effect was immediate.‡ General Espartero being in power in Spain, also acted in good faith in the execution of the conditions of the treaty with England, and appointed General Valdez, Governor of Cuba. When Valdez entered upon his duties, the imports of slaves into Cuba were about 14,000 annually. The first year of his government reduced the imports 8,000; and in 1842, the last year, the number imported was only 3,100 men.§ Political changes occurring, the plans of these governments were soon abandoned, and the increasing demand for slave grown products, which was soon after created, by their admission into the English markets, gave renewed activity to that traffic, increasing it, in 1847, to within a trifle of what it was from 1798 to 1810, and in 1848 and 1849, it is believed, to an extent nearly equal to what it has been at any former period.||

With these facts before us, a true conception can be formed of the past and present condition of the slave trade.

It is evident that if England could have persisted in her exclusion of slave grown products from her markets, and could have rejected such free labor products as would have been replaced in other markets by an equivalent of those of slave labor origin, that a death-blow would have been given to the slave trade, and, in its suppression, to the slavery of Cuba and Brazil. But, unfortunately, at the moment when *negotiation* abroad, combined with *protective duties* at home, had enabled England to reduce the exports of slaves from Africa, in 1845, to 36,758, and the imports into Brazil to 22,700; the clamor in England, for a full supply of sugar, forced the government, first

\* See table, present lecture, p. 32. † London Times, 1849.

‡ Speech of Sir R. Peel in British Parliament, 1844. § Ibid.

|| Westminster Review, 1850, p. 265, states that the imports of slaves into Brazil in 1848 were 72,000, a larger number than at any former period.

to admit free labor sugar, and next, through the predominance of *free-trade principles*, slave labor sugar also. These acts at once opened up a market of such importance to countries employing slave labor, that an irresistible impetus was given to the slave trade, stimulating those engaged in it to break through every treaty stipulation, and bid defiance to all the physical force that can be arrayed against them.

It was the advancing demand for slave grown products, created by the causes before stated, that made it impossible for the governments of Spain and Brazil to act in good faith in the suppression of the slave trade. Governments cannot go much in advance of the public sentiment of their people, nor can they long remain much behind it. The positions of England and the United States, on the slave trade, were the result of the correct moral sentiment existing among their people. But the people of Spain and Brazil, governed only by commercial considerations, and not by motives of philanthropy or the principles of equity, looked only to the profits to be made by continuing the slave trade, and cared nothing for the amount of human woe induced, if they could but amass fortunes to themselves. These governments, therefore could not resist the tide of public sentiment; and their policy being changed, a rapidly-increasing flood of misery has continued to roll on, wave after wave, until humanity shudders at beholding the dark and dismal deluge continually dashing in upon the shores of the southern portion of our continent.

That the legislative measures adopted for the suppression of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery, have tended to increase and extend the evils they were designed to destroy, is not an opinion of recent origin, but one of very general belief in England. The present is, perhaps, the first effort to classify the facts and demonstrate the proposition. But that British legislation directly tended to this result, has been frequently asserted, by many of the most intelligent Englishmen, with great positiveness; and more than this, it was predicted, with equal positiveness, by men who understood human nature better than those controlling the movement, that their measures would certainly produce the results which have followed. In proof of this we need only quote a few paragraphs. The first is one embracing predictions of the consequences that would follow the adoption of the course of legislation proposed. It will be found in the *Westminster Review*, 1849.

"We cannot abolish slavery and the slave trade—we can only clear ourselves of them; and we may clear ourselves of them, saying we are abolishing them, in a way to strengthen them. It is not abolishing them to shift them from the West Indies to Cuba. By our way of ridding ourselves of slavery, we are making slaves more valuable and the slave trade more profitable, and increasing the interest of all other nations in buying, and selling, and keeping slaves. We shall pay \$100,000,000, and millions on millions besides, in the price of sugar and loss of capital for confirming slavery and the slave trade. To expect other nations to follow our example by

making it their interest not to do it, is not very wise. The way to abolish slavery is to make it contrary to the interest of the slave-dealer and slaveholder."

The remaining paragraphs are confirmatory of our proposition, and are from sources entitled to great respect.

"Fifteen years ago we thought we had done with the slave trade and slavery. But these odious subjects come back to us. The dark specters are not laid. One hundred and forty millions is the estimate of the sum of money spent to destroy them. Hundreds of associations, thousands of committees, public speeches, sermons, prayers, &c., &c., &c., have all been used as exorcisms to lay the specters of the bondage and the traffic which degrade men to the level of domestic animals. Our poorer people have been deprived of comforts which would have sweetened, literally and figuratively, their existence, because we would deal heroically with slavery and the slave trade. The chains of the negro have long been broken in marble. The fame of many renowned names have been won by feats of eloquence and zeal in this sacred cause. We celebrated many victories over the iniquity. But lo! slavery and the slave trade are stronger than ever, and more horrific than ever. On this subject, England has done two noble things, and committed two blunders. The nobleness has been ethical, and the blunders have been economical. Narrowness has been the source of the evils. Christian ethics had highly cultivated the consciences of the abolitionists, but they were ignorant of economical science."\*

After referring to the modifications of the sugar duties, by Parliament, and the scarcity of the supplies of sugar in the French markets consequent upon emancipation in Hayti, Blackwood's Magazine says: †

"To provide against the evidently approaching crisis in the supply of sugar in the British market, we have thrown open our harbors to *slave-grown sugar* from every quarter of the globe; and from the rapid decline in the West India Islands, even before this last *coup-de-grace* was given them by the application of free-trade principles to their produce, it is painfully evident that a result precisely similar (to what occurred in Hayti,) is about to take place in the British colonies. And it is little consolation to find that this injustice has recoiled upon the heads of the nation which perpetrated it, and that the decline in the consumption of British manufactures by the West India islands is becoming proportioned to the ruin we have inflicted on them.

"But most of all has this concatenation of fanaticism, infatuation, and injustice proved pernicious to the negro race, for whose benefit the changes were all undertaken. Happy would it have been for them if the British *slave trade* had never been abolished; and they had crossed the Atlantic chiefly in Liverpool or Glasgow slave-ships, and been brought to the British West India Islands! For then the

\* Westminster Review, Oct. 1849.

† January, 1848, p. 6, 7.

slave trade was subject to our direction, and regulations might have been adopted to place it upon the best possible footing for its unhappy victims. But now we have thrown it entirely into the hands of the Spaniards and Portuguese, over whom we have no sort of control, and who exercise it in so frightful a manner that the heart absolutely sickens at the thought of the amount of human suffering *at the cost of which we have reduced the price of sugar to sixpence a pound.* Compared with it, the English slave-ships and English slavery were an earthly paradise. Mr. Buxton, the great anti-slavery advocate, admitted, some years ago, that the "number of blacks who now cross the Atlantic, is *double what it was* when Wilberforce and Clarkson first began their benevolent labors."\* Now, under the fostering influence of free-trade in sugar, it may reasonably be expected that in a few years, *the whole*, or nearly the whole sugar consumed by Europe, will be raised by the slave colonies, and wrung by the lash from the most wretched species of slaves—those of Cuba and Brazil! Moreover, the slave trade, to supply them, will be *triple* what it was in 1789, when the movement in favor of the negro population began! Thus, by the combined effects of fanaticism, ignorance, presumption, and free trade, we shall have succeeded, by the middle of this century, in totally destroying our own sugar colonies; adding, to no purpose, \$100,000,000 to our national debt; annihilating property to the amount of \$650,000,000 in our own (colonial) domains; doubling the produce of foreign slave possessions; cutting off a market of \$17,500,000 a year for our manufactures; and tripling the slave trade in extent, and quadrupling it in horror, throughout the globe."

Another writer specifies more fully the effects of these measures.†

"The impulse which the government act of 1846 has given to the slave trade in every part of the world, is something perfectly enormous; but its mischievous and inhuman effects will be best understood by a reference to ascertained facts. Prior to 1846, the traffic in slaves between the African coast and the Spanish colonies had been gradually declining, and had in fact almost disappeared. The exclusion of slave-grown sugars from our home market had nearly forced the Cuban proprietors into a different system, and arrangements were pending in that Colony for the emancipation of the slaves, just at the time Lord John Russell came forward in favor of the chain and the lash, and all was changed. 'The value of field negroes in Cuba had risen (in the course of the two years, from 1846 to 1848) from 300 to 500 dollars each, a price that would speedily bring a supply from the coast.' 'We will not, forsooth, permit foreign nations to traffic in slaves, and yet we give them the monopoly of our market, knowing all the while that upon that importation alone we are dependant for a cheap supply—*cheap sugar means cheap slaves.*' 'Why did we destroy that market in Jamaica which we so eagerly seize in

\* Buxton on the Slave trade, p. 172.

† Blackwood's Magazine, Feb. 1848, p. 235, 236.

Brazil?" "Great Britain, after forcing the Emancipation Act on her colonies, and in the most solemn manner announcing, in a voice of thunder, her future determined opposition to the existence of the traffic in slaves, at once took a course which made her the customer of less scrupulous countries, and the largest encourager of that odious traffic in the world, thus ruining her own colonies."

Quotations of similar expressions of opinion might be multiplied indefinitely, but enough have been given. It may be added, however, that the North British Review, in a careful digest of the evidence contained in the six Reports on the Slave Trade and Slavery, made to Parliament, within the last two years, is led to this conclusion: That England's coercive measures have not merely failed to check the supply of slaves to Brazil, but that, on the other hand, they have had the effect of greatly aggravating the horrors of the middle passage, and the sufferings endured by the negroes in the barraeoons on the coast of Africa, as well as very materially prejudicing the interests of British merchants trading to that country. This failure of the coercive policy for the suppression of the slave trade, the Reviewers contend, "results from its unsoundness in principle."

IV. That the governments named, cannot hope to escape from the necessity of consuming the products of slave labor, except by calling into active service, on an extensive scale, the free labor of countries not at present producing the commodities upon which slave labor is employed.

In the discussion of our first proposition, we proved that the tropical countries, where slavery has been abolished, have failed to furnish to commerce, since emancipation, an amount of products equal to what they had previously supplied. In discussing some of the other propositions, it appeared that the whole free labor exports from the Asiatic portion of the Eastern Hemisphere, added to those of the Western, had fallen far short of supplying the demands of Europe and America. It also appeared that to this cause was principally due the vast increase of the slave trade during the present century.

To sustain our fourth proposition, it will be necessary to show, that the free labor to which we have referred, cannot be so stimulated as to make it sufficiently productive *to compete with, and displace,* the fruits of slave labor in the markets of the world.

When the *non-progressive* character of the population of Pagan countries is considered, but little aid will be expected from the Asiatic portion of the Eastern Hemisphere,\* in efforts to make free labor compete with slave labor, in tropical cultivation. The inquiries into this subject, may, therefore, be confined to the Western Hemisphere. To understand the relations which the free labor and the slave labor, of this hemisphere, bear to each other, and the capability of the first to compete with the last, it is necessary to state the proportion which the number of persons of the one class bear to those of the other.

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\* Present Lecture, p. 18.

The amount of the population of the English and French West India Colonies, emancipated from slavery, has been already stated,\* and comprehends nearly the whole of the free labor employed in the cultivation of the commodities we have been considering. Estimating the increase of the population of Hayti, since emancipation, at 40 per cent., and that of the English colonies at 20 per cent., will give them a present population of 1,400,000. To this must be added the persons emancipated by France, in 1848, making the total free labor forces, within the limits under consideration, about 1,657,000 persons. Against this free population there is arrayed the following number of slaves: †

United States,.....	3,252,000
Brazil, .....	3,250,000
Spanish Colonies,.....	900,000
Dutch Colonies,.....	85,000
South American Republics,.....	140,000
African Settlements,.....	30,000
 Total slave population,.....	 7,657,000
Free labor      do.      above stated,.....	 1,657,000
 Excess of slave population,.....	 6,000,000

Of the number of slaves in the United States, about 1,000,000 are in States which do not produce cotton and sugar. Deducting these, will leave 6,657,000 slaves arrayed against 1,657,000 free persons, or 5,000,000 more slaves than freemen.

These figures testify, with unequivocal distinctness, that the free population, above named, cannot be made to compete with the slave population, in tropical cultivation. In addition to the immense disparity of numbers, a moment's consideration will make it evident, that, even were their numbers equal, the circumstances under which the people, *called free*, are placed, would still make it impossible to stimulate them to such a degree of industry, that their *voluntary* labor would be equally productive with the *compulsory* labor of the slaves.

A very brief examination will show, that this is not an exaggerated view of the condition of the people under consideration. In referring to Hayti, we need only direct attention to a preceding table‡ as an index of its industry, and to our second lecture|| for a correct view of its social and moral condition. The other French colonies, in nine months of their first year of freedom, have diminished their exports of sugar, nearly 72,000,000 lbs.§

The British West Indies, it may safely be said, have a free population whose industry cannot be made to compete with even an equal amount of slave labor. In addition to the extensive array of facts

\* Present Lecture, p. 9.

† Tenth Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. We add for Texas only 22,000, and estimate the other States up to 1850, at 3 per cent. per annum, since 1840. But Texas has at least 40,000.

‡ Page 11.      || Pages 42, 43.      § Present lecture, p. 12.

submitted in the present and former lectures, the public have recently been supplied with much new and important information from Jamaica, by Mr. Bigelow, one of the editors of the New York Evening Post, a leading Anti-Slavery paper.

This gentleman has recently visited Jamaica, and made a careful examination of its condition. He represents industry as at the lowest ebb; and that the downward tendencies of the island cannot be more rapid than at present. A degrading estimate is put upon labor, and a white man is never seen at work upon the estates. 'The blacks,' "with the average sequence of negro logic, infer that if gentlemen never work, they have only to abstain from work to be gentlemen." In the city of Kingston, he says, one looks and listens in vain for the noise of carts and the bustle of busy men; no one seems to be in a hurry; but few are doing anything; while the mass of the population are lounging about in idleness and rags. Nor is there any present hope that these habits of indolence will be abandoned; because there is absolutely nothing to stimulate the majority of the people to industry and to efforts for intellectual and moral advancement. The greater portion of the lands under cultivation is held by owners of immense estates, and but little encouragement is extended to the people to cultivate small tracts, because this policy would draw off the labor from the sugar estates. The property qualification of voters is fixed so high as to exclude the mass of the people from any participation in the government of the island, or in the enactment of the laws that are to control them. Out of a population in Jamaica, of 400,000, of whom 16,000 are white, the average vote of the island has never exceeded 3,000. The center of legislative control is in London, and the members of the colonial legislature are mere shadows, destitute of the vital functions of legislators. The veto power of the governor, who is appointed by the Queen, enables him practically to control all legislation. The enormous property qualification required to make a man eligible to a seat in the legislature, excludes all but the landholders from that body. By this arrangement all the energies of legislation are exerted to promote the growth and sale of sugar and rum. In addition to other depressing influences, young men of moderate means, or who are poor, cannot reach the profession of the law, because none can practice at the bar except such as have pursued their studies in England, and been admitted there. So little do those who control public affairs, comprehend the principles of human action, that though wages are only 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  to 25 cents a day, (the laborer *boarding himself*,) the planters all imagine that a *reduction of wages* is essential to the revival of agricultural prosperity.

Such are the disadvantages under which these poor, oppressed Africans labor in the West Indies, and such the utter hopelessness of their being able to make much progress, that, next to their brethren yet in slavery, they demand, and should receive, the sympathies of the christian world.

It would have been difficult to convince the world, that such utter ruin, as has occurred in Jamaica, could have been produced by any

course of legislation. But Mr. Bigelow reveals facts upon this subject that are truly astounding. He says:

"Since 1832, out of the six hundred and fifty-three sugar estates then in cultivation more than one hundred and fifty have been abandoned and broken up. This has thrown out of cultivation over 200,000 acres of *rich land*, which, in 1832, gave employment to about 30,000 laborers, and yielded over 25,600,000 lbs. of sugar, and over 6,000 puncheons of rum. During the same period, over five hundred coffee plantations have also been abandoned and their works broken up. This threw out of cultivation over 200,000 acres more of land, which in 1832 required the labor of over 30,000 men."

An estate formerly selling for \$90,000, in 1845, sold for \$5,000. Another, which once cost an equal sum, has been offered by its present owners for \$7,500, and finding no purchaser, was abandoned. A multitude of such cases are embraced in Mr. Bigelow's letters, showing a general prostration of the commercial interests of the island. That an over-crowding of population can have no influence in checking the prosperity of Jamaica, is proved by the fact, that out of her 4,000,000 acres of land, all being of the most fertile kind, not over 500,000 acres have been brought under cultivation, or even appropriated.

The low state of civilization, leaves the population of the British West Indies with few wants. It is asserted that the people of these islands are enabled to live in comfort, and acquire wealth, without, for the most part, laboring on the estates of the planters, for more than *three or four days in the week, and from five to seven hours in the day*, so that they have no stimulant to perform an adequate amount of labor.\*

This condition of things puts it out of the power of the planters to produce sugar for less than £20 per ton, on the average, while the cost in slave countries is only £12† per ton.

This discloses the fact that the planters of Cuba, employing *slave labor*, can manufacture sugar for £8 the ton *less* than those of Jamaica can produce it by *free labor*. As one of the immediate results of this condition of things, it was asserted in 1848, that "the great influx of slave-grown produce into the English markets has, in the short space of six months, reduced the value of sugar from £26 to £14 per ton; while, under ordinary circumstances of soil and season, the cost to us of placing it in the market is not less than £20 per ton."‡

It is well, here, to explain why it is that the duties on foreign sugar afford no real protection to the English West India planter.

"The slave sugars are all so much better manufactured, which the great command of labor enables them to do, that, to the refiner, they are intrinsically worth more than ours. In short, they prepare their sugars, whereas we cannot do so, and we pay duty at the same rate on an article which contains a quantity of molasses. *So that, if the*

\* Blackwood's Mag. 1848, p. 227.

† Ib. p. 230.

‡ Blackwood's Mag. 1848, p. 230. Resolutions of a meeting at St. David's, Jamaica.

*duties were equalized, there would virtually be a bonus on the importation of foreign sugar.* The refiners estimate the value of Havanna, in comparison with West India free sugar, as from three to five shillings per cwt. better in point of color and strength. The reason is, that these sugars are partially refined or *clayed.*"\*

The relation in which foreign sugars stand to colonial, in the markets of England, taking into account the protective duties, will be clearly seen by the following statement of the cost of production of each, with the duties added, and an allowance made for the *extra value* of the Cuban sugar over that of the English colonies, taking the period from July, 1850 to July, 1851 :

British Muscovado costs planters per ton,	£20 00s.
Duty on do. per ton,	11 00
Total cost in market,	£31 00s.
Cuban Muscovado, do. per ton,	£12 00s.
Duty, per ton,	15 10      27 10
Balance in favor Cuban planter,	3 10s.
Add <i>extra value</i> of Cuban sugar, £4 per ton,	4 00
Slave labor advantage over free labor,	£7 10s.

By reference to the table of duties, on a preceding page, it will be seen that if the present relations of the cost of production shall be maintained, when the duties become equalized, slave labor will have an advantage in the English market, if no change occurs in the duties, of £12 the ton.† The duty on both kinds will be, in 1854, 10s. the cwt. or £10 the ton, and the extra value of Cuban sugar being the same, the profits of the slave labor sugar will be £12 the ton as above stated, viz :

Cost of production of free labor, per ton,	£20 00s.
Duty on do. per ton,	10 00
Cost in market to planter,	£30 00s.
Cost of slave labor, do.	£12 00s.
Duty on do.,	10 00      22 00
Surplus profit of slave labor,	8 00s.
Extra value of do.,	4 00
Total excess of profit to slaveholder,	£12 00s.

Who cannot see that such advantages as the Cuban and Brazilian slaveholders now possess, may enable them to banish free labor sugars from the English markets ! But to gain a clear understanding of the reason why the slaveholding planters of Cuba, Brazil, &c., can produce sugar at a cost so much lower than those of Jamaica, and other free labor tropical countries, it is necessary again to call attention to the difference in their ability to command labor. In the former countries, not including the United States, the planters can command

\* Blackwood's Mag. 1848, p. 230.

† The estimates have been made for Muscovadoes only, and the expense of freights not included.

the labor of a slave population of 4,100,000, while the latter have only 1,657,000.\* It must be noticed, also, that this slave population is compelled, under the lash, to perform a full day's work every day in the week, and that in crop time the labor is often extended to eighteen hours per day;† while the free men of Jamaica, &c., ignorant, depressed, and discouraged, by *unequal laws*, content themselves with leisurely putting in from five to seven hours in the day, during only three or four days of the week.‡

We certainly need not add anything more in support of the proposition, that *free labor*, under present circumstances, *cannot compete with slave labor in tropical cultivation*, and that, therefore, christian governments cannot escape from the necessity of consuming slave labor products, except by calling into active service, on an extensive scale, the free labor of countries not at present producing the commodities upon which slave labor is employed.

V. That Africa is the principal field where free labor can be made to compete, successfully, with slave labor, in the production of exportable tropical commodities.

To demonstrate the truth of this proposition it is demanded; *First*, that it be shown that the soil and climate of Africa are well adapted to the production of Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton; and *Second*, that the natives can be successfully employed in their cultivation.

In relation to the *first* point, there is no longer any doubt among intelligent men. *Coffee*, equal, if not superior, to that of Java or Mocha, is raised in Liberia, and can be easily cultivated to any extent. The shrub bears fruit thirty or forty years, each producing ten pounds annually. *Cotton*, of a superior quality, yielding *two crops a year*, is indigenous, and thrives twelve or fourteen years without renewing the plant. *Sugar Cane* grows in unrivaled luxuriance; and, as there are no *frosts* to be dreaded, can be brought to much greater perfection than in our Southern States.§ Other articles of great value are raised in Liberia, but it is unnecessary to specify them, or to enlarge this branch of our investigations; as Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel, late United States Agent, in Liberia, and Superintendent of the Medical School of the Colony is publishing a series of essays upon the subject. The Doctor resided five or six years in Africa, and had an excellent opportunity for employing his eminent talents to examine the Geography, the Productions, the Climate, as well as the Diseases of the New Republic. His essays embrace all these topics, and afford ample information, in relation to Liberia, for all who wish to learn the facts.

On the *second* point much information has been collected, and it is no longer doubted in Liberia, that the labor of natives can be made available. The Colony numbers about 150,000 souls.|| Many

\* Present Lecture, p. 41.

† Second Lecture, p. 38.

‡ Present Lecture, p. 43.

§ African Repository, July, 1850.

|| President Roberts' message to Liberia Legislature, Dec., 1849.

of these natives are becoming industrious, by the example of the colonists, and the desire to possess the comforts of civilized life. Some are partially educated, and one, a few years ago, occupied a seat in the Legislature. Many of them have married persons born in the United States, and thereby become more identified with the citizens of the Republic. The colonists, of ability, can secure, from the natives, all the labor necessary, *at very low wages*. This is now so well understood as to discourage those emigrants, from the United States, who desire to go as *day laborers*.

Mr. ED. J. ROYE, a merchant of Monrovia, fully confirms this statement, in a letter to Mr. W. H. Burnham, of Zanesville, Ohio. He mentions it as the chief discouragement to emigrants dependent upon labor for a subsistence, but adds, that many of the poor Americans in the colony "are already turning their attention to farming, which pays well." "To men of character, education, wealth, and enterprise, nothing can be considered beyond their reach, and no station, in the Republic, too high to be attained."\*

At first view this seems disheartening to the poor colored man; but to discerning men, Liberia presents stronger claims on this account. Mr. Roye's statement proves two things important to Europe and America. 1. That native labor can be had *cheap*. 2. That those emigrants who engage in agriculture, can do well.

What is most important to elevate and ennoble the poor emigrant, is, to forget the days of his bondage, stand erect as a freeman, and depend alone upon the strength of his own arm, and the blessing of God. Cringing to others unmans him. To place him in circumstances which will force him to agricultural or mechanical pursuits, is best calculated to create in his breast a feeling of manly independence. And, God willing, this is what Colonizationists are determined to do for the free colored people of the United States.

The desire to possess the commodities supplied by the commerce of civilized nations is evidently much stronger in the people of Africa, even where the influence of the Colonies is but little felt, than in those of any other barbarous country. This desire has been generated by the slave trade, and is the principal obstacle to its suppression. Having no fruits of agricultural labor to offer for the articles they desire, *slave hunts* are made the means of procuring slaves to give in exchange. And such is the strength with which this desire for traffic with foreigners operates, and such their unwillingness to be deprived of it, that in the late purchase of Gallinas, when the chiefs sold their territory to President Roberts, they expressly stipulated for the establishment of commerce upon a permanent basis. They knew very well that the slave trade was to cease from that moment, and, as an equivalent, demanded, not only a large sum of money, but that commissioners should be immediately appointed "to settle the wars in the country, (*because wars will now no longer be*

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\* This seems to have been prophetic language, as, since it was written, Mr. Roye has held a seat in the Legislature of Liberia, and been chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives.

*useful when the captives taken cannot be sold.)* and open the trades in Camwood, Ivory, and Palm oil, with the interior tribes; and also to settle among them, as soon as convenient, persons capable of instructing them in the arts of Husbandry.”\*

But can the native labor of Africa be made to compete with the slave labor of other tropical countries, and supply the christian world with that immense amount of coffee, sugar, and cotton, it now consumes? This is the great question. If the native be left, without the aid of foreign intelligence, to develop his intellectual and moral powers, he must remain fitted only for a life of slavery abroad, or of savage indolence at home. But if the Republic of Liberia be supplied with a sufficient number of industrious, intelligent, and moral emigrants, to enable it to extend its settlements and its laws around the coast, and into the interior, a few years only will elapse before the natives, coming under the influence of civilization, will experience such an increase of wants as can be supplied only by industry. What has already occurred in the present settlements of Liberia will follow in all new ones, and a spirit of industry be awakened as far and as rapidly as the colonization of the country shall be accomplished.

We have previously shewn† that the stereotyped character of the Pagan nations of Eastern Asia, renders it difficult to stimulate the inhabitants to a much greater degree of industry than already exists, and that *such free labor* cannot compete with slave labor. Why, then, should we expect that the native labor of heathen Africa should be more available, and made to compete with slave labor? The answer to this question is obvious. Without the introduction of Christian civilization, *neither of them can progress.* But the humble African yields more readily to the instruction of the Christian missionary than the proud Asiatic. The hope of Africa’s earlier civilization is, therefore, daily brightening, and the probability of exciting its inhabitants to industry becoming more certain.

We close this part of the inquiry by a quotation from the Annual Report of the American Missionary Association, for 1849, which not only affords an explanation of the causes that make Asia less accessible to the Gospel than Africa, but supplies additional testimony in regard to the adaptation of the soil of Africa to the production of sugar and cotton. This mission had its origin in the liberation, and return to Africa, of the *Amistad slaves.* It is located at Kaw-Mendi, on the Western coast of Africa, some distance from the sea, and lies between Sierra Leone and Liberia. The REV. MR. THOMPSON, once imprisoned in the Penitentiary of the State of Missouri, for aiding slaves to escape from their masters, is now at the head of this mission. This testimony is valuable, coming, as it does, from Abolitionists, from whom colonization in Africa has received but little countenance. The Report says:

- “The sugar cane and cotton grow well in that country, and if American Christians could send out business men, who could teach

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\* Letter of President Roberts, May 17, 1850.

† Page 18.

natives the manufacture of sugar, and the best method of raising cotton, it would contribute much to the overthrow of slavery, and facilitate the progress of the gospel. The mission makes earnest appeals for such assistance." The Report also says, that "Africa presents some peculiar advantages for missionary work, and some strong claims upon American christians for help." It sums them up as follows:

"1. That country is nearer to us than any other foreign missionary field.

"2. The country is apparently open to us, and its governments will offer no serious opposition to our entering any part of it.

"3. The people see and appreciate the superiority of men in civilized life, and desire the cultivation which will raise them to the same grade.

"4. There is there, no hoary and venerated system of superstition, inwrought into the forms of society, and presenting at every point opposition to change.

"A reason more powerful, perhaps, than any other, to induce us to engage in this work, is the deep degradation of Africa, superinduced by the slave trade, in which Americans have taken so prominent a part."

Much additional testimony on this subject might be presented, but time will not permit. We shall, therefore, close our discussion of this proposition with a brief statement of the main facts by which its truth is sustained.

Could England and the United States be induced to engage energetically, to promote the growth of coffee, sugar, and cotton, in Africa, they would gain an immense advantage over the planters of Cuba and Brazil, and be able to strike an efficient blow at the slave trade and slavery. What are the facts?

For every 300 men made available, by the slave trade, to the Cuban and Brazilian planters, Africa loses 1,000;\* or the proportion may be stated as *three to ten*. In the transfer of the *three* to Cuba and Brazil, their constitutions are impaired by the "middle passage," and in seven years they sink beneath the oppressive labor to which they are subjected. Their places must be supplied, at least every seven years, by *three* others from Africa, subjecting her to the loss of another *ten*. At every point in Africa, occupied by a colony, the slave trade is at once excluded, and its agents are driven to other points to secure their victims. This will leave, at the places occupied, the whole *ten* men who had formerly been sacrificed to supply *three* to the Cuban planters.

Now, though the industry of the native African should fall far below the standard of the ever-active and enterprising *Anglo Saxon*; yet a little consideration will enable us to perceive that, under the circumstances, the native population of Africa will be able, not only to compete with the slaves of Cuba and Brazil, but will constitute the *only reliable force* for the suppression of the slave trade.

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\* Buxton, see Lecture First, p. 8.

The maximum of labor required of the *three* slaves in Cuba, is *eighteen hours a day*.\* By preventing the transfer of these *three* men, we shall have *ten* to employ in Africa. If these ten men can be induced to labor only *five hours and a half per day*, the product will more than equal that of the *three* in Cuba. The case would stand thus :

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{3 slaves in Cuba, laboring 18 hours per day} = 54 \text{ hours.} \\ \text{10 freemen in Africa} \quad " \quad 5\frac{1}{2} \quad " \quad " = 55 \quad " \end{array}$$

The *ten* men in Africa, laboring but  $5\frac{1}{2}$  hours per day, would, therefore, be able to compete with the *three* in Cuba or Brazil.

The reason that Jamaica, or any of the other free labor colonies, cannot compete with Cuba, Brazil, &c., is, that the freemen of the former, either from indolent habits, or from attention to cultivating their own small tracts of land, or from being engaged in other pursuits, do not choose to labor for the sugar planters more than from *five to seven hours a day*, and from *three to four days in the week*.† It is not asserted, that while engaged, the free laborer does not perform as much work as a slave. The difficulty in Jamaica is, that the planters, out of the free population, *cannot find men enough*, to put in as many hours labor, as those of Cuba, by a free use of the whip, are able to obtain from their slaves. Laboring so irregularly, even were their numbers equal, it would be impossible for the 1,657,000 colored freemen of the Western Hemisphere to compete with the 7,657,000 slaves which it includes.‡ The difficulty in making the free labor of the British and French West Indies compete with the slave labor of Cuba and Brazil, arises, therefore, from the want of an equal number of hands willing to perform an equal amount of labor at an equal cost. The American Colonization Society has discovered that this discrepancy can be remedied by a direct attention to Africa, which shall call into activity, as free laborers, its 160,000,000 of people, as rivals, in tropical cultivation, to the before mentioned 7,657,000 slaves. But to obtain a clear conception of the *economical* advantages of employing the people of Africa *upon their own soil*, over that of transporting them to Cuba and Brazil, it must be recollect ed, that as soon as the *ten* men in Africa could be persuaded to labor *ten hours a day*, they would *double* the products of the *three* in Cuba. It must also be remembered, that the *ten*, remaining in their *native climate, and belonging to a race of the greatest longevity known*, could be relied upon as regular laborers, for a much longer period than the *three* enfeebled and overworked slaves of Cuba. This remark applies equally to the whole African population. Under these circumstances, it is certain that the free labor of Africa, under proper regulations and stimulants, can be made to compete with the slave labor of Brazil and the Spanish Colonies.

But there is another fact, of much importance, to be considered.

\* See Lecture Second, p. 38.

† Present Lecture, p. 43.

‡ Present Lecture, p. 40 to 44.

The slave population of Brazil and the Spanish Colonies, numbering 4,100,000, or more than one half of the whole number in the Western Hemisphere, is maintained alone by the slave trade. Destroy this trade, and their plantations would dwindle into insignificance, or become extinct. From the rapid mortality of the imported slaves, these plantations require restocking from Africa every seven years. Cut off this supply, and Cuba and Brazil would at once be rendered incapable of flooding the markets with cheap slave labor products, to the exclusion of free labor commodities.

We have seen that the exports from the British West Indies began to decline from the prohibition of the slave trade, in 1808, and reached their minimum since the emancipation in 1838.\* The diminution of the exports of coffee and sugar from the British and French West Indies, from the periods above stated, tended to increase slavery and encourage the slave trade.† The constantly increasing demand for these products must be supplied. Cuba and Brazil endeavored, by increasing their number of slaves, to supply the deficiency. This extended the slave trade, and it has continued to increase, with two or three slight variations, until the present moment.‡ Interrupt the kidnapping of slaves from Africa, and no new field can be found to supply the market. Hence, to destroy the slave trade, would directly diminish the exports of sugar and coffee from Cuba and Brazil.

But if these prolific fountains are dried up, how is the continually increasing demand for these products to be supplied? How are the United States, England, and the Continent of Europe to be furnished with these indispensable articles? Africa seems to furnish the only hope. Let England, France, and the United States, make a united effort to extend the benefits of Christian civilization, not only around the coast, but into the heart of this hitherto benighted portion of the earth, and the most cheering results might be anticipated. Let accumulated wealth pour her exhaustless treasures in the lap of the Colonization Society, enabling it to send out to Africa multitudes of civilized and enlightened men, to diffuse intelligence and freedom along the shores of its rivers, and over its mountains and plains! Let England, with her commerce, her wealth, her public spirit, and her Christianity, exert her powerful influences in extending her commerce, her enterprise, and her civilization, among the natives of this extensive continent! Let France unite her energies in these important efforts, and soon Africa, free and prosperous, might almost supply the world with the products to which we have referred.

From the facts before stated, it is evident that the free labor of the West Indies *is powerless for the suppression of the slave trade*. It furnishes but a limited supply of coffee and sugar, and cannot lessen the immense demand for these products, which gives to that trade its profitable character. These products are of prime necessity and importance to the Christian world; and, while such a large proportion

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\* Present Lecture, p. 25.

† See page 30 to 40, present Lecture.  
‡ Present Lecture, p. 32

of them are produced by Cuba and Brazil, we are compelled to uphold slavery and the slave trade by their consumption. But establish their cultivation and supply, by free labor, upon a permanent basis, and we shall ere long be released from this dire necessity. Africa presents the principal, if not the only field, where all the means of thus extensively cultivating sugar, coffee, and cotton, by free labor, can be commanded, and from which the great markets of the world can be successfully supplied. The reasons for this opinion may be thus stated:

If the products of free labor can be increased, they will displace an equal amount of the products of slave labor. This will diminish the demand for slaves, and, consequently, lessen the extent of the slave trade. But the hands now employed in free labor cannot, to any great degree, increase their products, *even at the present cost*, and things must remain as they now are until additional free labor is elsewhere employed. These additional laborers, *willing to work for low wages*, can only be found in sufficient numbers among the teeming population of Africa.\*

Africa, then, is the field, and its 160,000,000 of men must supply the laborers necessary to accomplish this great work. The increasing demand for sugar and coffee has placed the wants and interests of Christendom in opposition to the destruction of the slave trade. Cuba and Brazil furnish these great staples for the market, by slaves, as we have seen, brought from Africa. Hence, the Christian world, by consuming these products, have indirectly sustained both slavery and this abominable traffic. But let ample plantations be opened and cultivated in Africa, sufficient to supply the market, and you have removed the grand obstacle to the entire destruction of this trade in blood.

To accomplish an object so desirable, more extensive plans must be devised; the Colonization Society must enlarge the sphere of its operations, the number and character of emigrants must be increased, and a universal effort put forth, commensurate with the great object to be accomplished.

But the direct suppression of the slave trade, as a preliminary step in the progress of African redemption, *is impossible*. The combined efforts of Christendom, in a forty years' struggle, have failed even in *checking* this enormous outrage upon humanity. It may be circumscribed, diminished, and partially suppressed, but it must depend, for its final destruction, upon the political regeneration, together with the intellectual elevation and moral redemption of the entire continent.

The alternative seems already forced upon Christendom, either to encourage slavery and the slave trade, by continuing to consume the produce of Brazil and Cuba, or to set about speedily accomplishing the civilization of Africa.

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\* The cultivation of cotton has been commenced at the British Colony of Port Natal, in S. E. Africa, says the London Economist, and the labor of the Zooloos can be had at ten shillings the month. The wages of native laborers is about the same at Liberia.

The great theater, then, upon which the battle between free labor and slave labor is to be fought, is in Africa; and colonization is the all-potent agent which is to marshal the free labor forces, and lead them on to victory. But this warfare, unlike all preceding contests, is one literally demanding *that every sword shall be beaten into a plowshare, and every spear into a pruninghook*. In this campaign, *tilling the soil*, and not *slaying men*, is the duty required; and the advantages are so decidedly with free labor, that ultimate success is certain. Each industrious emigrant to an African colony, will more than equal a dozen slaves laboring elsewhere. His example and his influence, acting upon the native population, will excite to industry a dozen, or twenty, or a hundred more; and these, again, will exert an influence upon others, and so on indefinitely.

Who can doubt, under such circumstances, that Africa, with its multitudinous population, is the field where free labor may be made successfully to compete with slave labor, in the productions to which we have so often referred, and that the Colonization Society is the medium through which, in the Providence of God, the slave trade is to be finally destroyed?

VI. That there are *moral forces* and *commercial considerations* now in operation, which will, necessarily, impel christian governments to exert their influence for the civilization of Africa, and the promotion of the prosperity of the Republic of Liberia, as the principal agency in this great work, and that in these facts lies our encouragement to persevere in our colonization efforts.

This proposition opens up a wide field of discussion, but in its consideration we must be brief.

There have been *moral forces* acting upon England and the United States, for many years past, to such an extent that these governments have been driven to the adoption of energetic measures for ameliorating the condition of the people of Africa. Much has been done in these efforts, and much more remains to be done. In the United States, 460,000 colored people have obtained their freedom, and in the English Colonies nearly 800,000 rejoice in being released from bondage. The slave trade has been prohibited, declared piracy, and costly efforts for its suppression long prosecuted. But though the measures devised, for the relief of the African race, by these governments, have failed in the accomplishment of *all* the good anticipated, and in some respects, most sadly failed; yet these *moral forces* have lost none of their power, but are still propelling the two nations onward to the final accomplishment of the great work of Africa's redemption from barbarism. During the course of these efforts much light has been thrown on this subject, and it is believed that, through the agency of the Colonization Society, the proper principles have been developed by which the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa may be effected.

In making this declaration, we do not intend to claim more of

wisdom and philanthropy for the United States than for England. The difference in the character of the measures adopted, and the difference in the results attained, have been caused by the difference in the circumstances of the people of the two countries. Fifty years ago the English people looked to the Crown and Parliament, to execute almost every enterprise of a religious or benevolent character. That government, like all others, in all its movements, has to consider well the promotion of its own interests. To adopt any other rule of action, is deliberately to aim at self-destruction. The danger, then, with nations, as with individuals, when suffering humanity makes its appeal, is that the measures adopted for relief, may include more of the *selfish* than of the *benevolent principle*, and failure, or only partial success, attend the efforts made.

When the *moral forces* directed against the slave trade and slavery, by the people of England, reached the government in sufficient power to compel it to action, that great leading interest of the British nation, the *commercial element*, became too closely blended with the *benevolent*, and the policy adopted proved to be *too narrow* to remove the evils sought to be destroyed.

In the United States, the *moral forces* commenced their operations at a very early period, and our independence had scarcely been attained, when the government enacted its laws for prohibiting the slave trade, and declared it piracy.\* Since that period, they have acted with less force upon the government, and nearly all subsequent efforts have either been by a few of the States, separately, or by the people. This course of action seems more in accordance with, and necessarily to grow out of, the spirit of our free institutions. While the government suppresses great public evils, and oversees the civil and military affairs of the nation, it only protects citizens in all their benevolent enterprises and religious interests, but never undertakes to conduct or control these movements for the people. The people, therefore, do not depend upon the government to conduct such affairs, but execute, freely, their own purposes, in accordance with their own peculiar views. The efforts of our people, in behalf of the African race, have been conducted by associations of individuals, and, consequently, the schemes adopted have borne the impress of the minds that conceived and conducted them. This has been emphatically true of the American Colonization Society. Individual or governmental interests being in no way involved in this enterprise, and it being, in its origin, chiefly under the control of christian men, it took the broadest possible ground that christian philanthropy dictated, and thus a scheme was devised *broad enough* to accomplish the destruction of the slave trade, and the work of Africa's redemption. The *religious element* predominated in its organization, and the *commercial* was excluded.

Had this work been undertaken by our government, it would, no doubt, have adopted the policy of England, and made the colony in

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\* See Lectures first and second.

Africa subservient to the interests of the parent country. Such, it must be expected, would have been the action of all governments in like cases. But the Colonization Society, originating solely in *christian benevolence*, has only sought the welfare of the African people, and aimed at creating for them an independent government, to be conducted wholly by themselves. In this it has succeeded; and not in this only, but it has developed a practical plan for the suppression of the slave trade, in the success of which all the nations are equally interested, and all may equally coöperate.

This view of the tendency of colonization in Africa, is now generally entertained. Besides many other authorities of the highest order, it is very fully admitted by a committee of the British Parliament, in a recent Report on the Slave Trade. The committee first show that England's long-cherished plan of an *armed repression* of the slave trade—costing her one hundred and forty millions of dollars, and hundreds of the lives of her subjects—had failed in its object, and that no modification in the system *can* be expected to succeed, and then close with the following testimony to the system of colonization, as the most effective mode of destroying that traffic:

"Your committee entertain the hope, that the internal improvement and civilization of Africa will be one of the most effective means of checking the slave trade, and for this purpose, that the instruction of the natives by missionary labors, by education, and by all other practical efforts, and the extension of legitimate commerce, ought to be encouraged wherever the influence of England can be directed, and especially where it has already been beneficially exerted."\*

This, then, is the position, in reference to the African question, into which we have been conducted by the operation of the *moral forces* upon England and the United States. Our scheme of Colonization, being *wholly independent of national interests*, except what are common to all; and including within itself all the elements necessary to secure the civilization of Africa and the destruction of the slave trade; now receives the approbation of the philanthropists of both countries, and secures to the Republic of Liberia, from the government of England, that countenance and aid which is the surest guarantee of its rising importance in the benevolent work of African regeneration. If, therefore, Colonization can receive sufficient aid to develop, fully, the elements of its organization, a speedy consummation of the great work it has in view may be anticipated.

From whence, then, are the additional aids to come, which, added to the *moral forces* in operation, shall propel, with sufficient rapidity, this great work of African civilization, and free the world from the reproach and the curse of the slave trade? They exist, principally, it is believed, in the *commercial considerations* which begin to demand, most imperiously, that the rich lands of tropical Africa shall be brought under cultivation, and made to yield to commerce those

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\* North British Review, August, 1849, p. 255.

articles, which free labor and slave labor, *both combined*, are now incapable of furnishing, in adequate quantities, from the fields at present cultivated.

The *moral forces*, though acting with much energy, and have in other respects, doing much good, been unable to destroy the slave trade, because of the counteracting influence of the *commercial considerations* enlisted in its behalf. But the wants of commerce are beginning to demand the execution of the plans which the moral forces *alone* could not perform. Then, as the two great elements of success *now coincide*, it seems that their influence must be irresistible, and the effect certain. The *moral forces* must continue to exert their full effect, because *they cannot become quiescent while the Christian world is dependent upon slave labor annually,\**

For cotton, to the amount of . . . . .	1,101,330,800 pounds.
For coffee, to the amount of . . . . .	338,240,000 "
For sugar, at least . . . . . . .	1,220,000,000 "

and largely for many other articles of prime necessity. That *commercional considerations* are beginning to act, in the direction of African amelioration, with much urgency, is easily shown. The *increased production* of coffee and cotton, throughout the world, is by no means keeping pace with their *increased consumption*. In former years, there was often a large stock of coffee remaining on hand at the close of each year. But latterly the increased consumption has been so rapid that it has gained on the production, and left a greatly *diminished* stock at the year's end. The deficit of coffee in the markets for 1849 advanced the price very largely, and the supply for the present year, as estimated by the most competent authorities,† will be 70,000,000 pounds *below the present known consumption* of Europe and the United States.

The extensive range of statistics which have been presented, in relation to the production of cotton, have been mostly taken from the London Economist, for January 1850; and we must allow its able editor to sum up the results of his elaborate investigations.‡ He says :§

" Now, bearing in mind that the figures in the above tables are, with scarcely an exception, ascertained facts, and not estimates, let us sum the conclusions to which they have conducted us; conclusions sufficient, if not to alarm us, yet certainly to create much uneasiness, and to suggest great caution on the part of all concerned, directly or indirectly, in the great manufacture of England.

" 1. That our supply of cotton *from all quarters*, (*excluding* the United States,) has for many years been decidedly, though irregularly, *decreasing*.

" 2. That our supply of cotton *from all quarters*, (*including* the United States,) available for home consumption, has of late years

\* See Present Lecture, p. 30.

‡ Page 35.

† Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, Aug. 1850.

§ The *italics* are his own.

been falling off at the rate of 400,000 pounds a week, while our consumption has been increasing during the same period at the rate of 144,000 pounds a week.

" 3. That the United States is the only country where the growth of cotton is on the increase; and that there even the increase does not on an average exceed 3 per cent, or 32,000,000 pounds annually, which is barely sufficient to supply the increasing demand for its own consumption, and for the continent of Europe.

" 4. That no stimulus of price can materially augment this annual increase, as the planters always grow as much cotton as the negro population can pick.

" 5. That, consequently, if the cotton manufacture of Great Britain is to increase at all—*on its present footing*—it can only be enabled to do so by applying a great stimulus to the growth of cotton in *other countries* adapted for the culture."\*

The writer also presents the following historical sketch of the cotton trade of England, and closes with a statement of the reason why other countries have *diminished* their production of cotton. It will be seen that it is due to the fact, that they are unable to compete with the United States in its production. We can supply the markets so much *cheaper* than they are able to do, that our cotton is driving theirs from the English market. The writer says:

" Within the memory of many now living, a great change has taken place in the countries from which our main bulk of cotton is procured. In the infancy of our manufacture our chief supply came from the Mediterranean, especially from Smyrna and Malta. Neither of these places now sends us more than a few chance bags occasionally. In the last century the West Indies were our principal source. In the year 1786, out of 20,000,000 pounds imported, 5,000,000 came from Smyrna, and the rest from the West Indies. In 1848 the West Indies sent us only 1,300 bales, (520,000 pounds.) In 1781, Brazil began to send us cotton, and the supply thence continued to increase, though irregularly, till 1830, since which time it has fallen off to one half. About 1822, Egyptian cotton began to come in considerable quantities; its cultivation having been introduced into that country two years before. The import exceeded 80,000 bales, (32,000,000 pounds,) in 1845. The average of the last three years has not been a third of that quantity. Cotton has always been grown largely in Hindostan, but it did not send much to England till about thirty years ago. In the five years, ending in 1824, the yearly average import was 33,000 bales; in 1841 it reached 274,000; and may now be roughly estimated at 200,000 bales a year, (80,000,000 pounds.)

" Now what is the reason why these countries, after having at one time produced so largely and so well, should have ceased or curtailed

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\*We have not copied all the tables of figures from which these opinions have been formed, but only such as were needed in our argument.

their growth within recent years? It is clearly a question of price. Let us consider a few of the cases:

At the close of the years,	Lowest price of Pernambuco,	Fall per cent.	Lowest price of Maranham	Fall per cent.	Lowest price of Egyptian,	Fall per cent.	Lowest price of Surat,	Fall per cent.
1836-1839 inclusive	9½d	....	8½d	....	10½d	....	4½d	....
1840-1843 .....	7d	....	5½d	....	7d	....	3½d	....
1844-1848 .....	5½d	36	4½d	42	5½d	43	2½d	49

"Here, surely, may be read the explanation of the deplorable falling off in our miscellaneous supply."

From these facts, thus clearly stated by the Economist, and which can be supported from many other authorities, it is plain that there are at least two commodities, Coffee and Cotton, which are not supplied in adequate quantities, *even by the combined efforts of both free and slave labor*; nor can the commercial demand, especially for cotton, be met but by an extension of its cultivation *to other countries not engaged in its production*.

Cotton, is so essential to England, that she *must have a supply upon which she can depend*. A short crop in the United States, like that of 1847, or the occurrence of any event which would diminish our production to any extent, would affect the *commercial and manufacturing interests* of Great Britain most seriously—so seriously, indeed, that, as a wise government, *she is bound to protect herself against such a contingency*. The truth of this assertion is made apparent, at once, on taking a view of the value of her exports of cotton goods, as compared with those of her other manufactures.

#### *Exports of Cotton Goods, by England, in the years stated.*

1834* value . . .	\$102,567,930	1837* value . . .	\$102,940,410
1835* " . . .	110,498,665	1848† " . . .	114,406,000
1836* " . . .	153,014,560	1849† " . . .	139,453,970

#### *Woollen Goods.*

1848† value . . .	\$32,554,815	1849† value . . .	\$42,096,650
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#### *Silk Manufactures.*

1848† value . . .	\$2,940,585	1849† value . . .	\$5,001,785
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#### *Linen Manufactures.*

1848† value . . .	\$16,481,190	1849† value . . .	\$20,517,215
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Truly, her Cotton Manufactures is the right arm of England, because it is the principal element in sustaining her commerce. This great leading interest, then, she will never consent to sacrifice. But it is now threatened with *an insufficient supply of the raw material*. The efforts to extend the cultivation of cotton in India, by native labor, have been abortive; that for introducing it into the heart of Africa, *by the agency of white men*, at the time of the Niger expedition, proved disastrous; and the British government is now anxiously looking

\* McCullough, vol. 1, p. 654. †London Economist, Feb. 1850, p. 196.

abroad for the means of placing its cotton manufactures in a condition of greater security. The diminishing production in all other countries, but ours, is alarming to her, when she considers that the increased production in the United States, has been, and will probably continue to be, only equal to the increase of the slave population—viz: 3 per cent. per annum\*—and that this increased production is all required by the increased demand consequent upon the multiplication of spindles and looms in the United States and on the Continent of Europe. It must also be noticed, that the demand for cotton fabrics is increasing in proportion to the increase of wealth and the extension of civilization. Without an increased supply of the raw material, Great Britain, therefore, cannot participate in the advantages of this increasing demand, and must suffer loss. This is a position she will

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\*At a subsequent date, from that before quoted, the London Economist, prompted by the suggestions of many English friends, resumed the consideration of the subject of the probable increase of the ratio of cotton production in the United States. It had been urged, that by the transfer of the slave population from other districts and other pursuits to that of cotton, the ratio of increase might be augmented so that the production in the United States should be made to equal the increasing consumption. But the conclusion arrived at is adverse to this view, and his opinion strengthened that the United States cannot meet the growing demands of commerce.

But there is one consideration which the Economist has overlooked, and which seems to have been but seldom noticed, that will be found to present an impassable barrier to the unlimited extension of cotton production in the United States. We refer to the *Geology* of the cotton region of this country; and we do so because the importance of the facts we state will be understood in England.

Public duties have taken us over many parts of the cotton growing States, including North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama. A considerable portion of the uplands of the three first-named States, are composed of *Primary* rocks, having often but a light covering of soil, which, from its loose porous nature, on cultivation, is easily swept away by heavy rains, or soon becomes exhausted by a succession of crops. The more common plan of renewing such exhausted lands, is to abandon their cultivation until a new growth of timber, arising and maturing, and shedding its foliage from year to year, restores a new soil, to be again cultivated and again abandoned. There are lands in North Carolina which have been thus turned out and re-enclosed three or four times since the settlement of the country.

Another portion of these States consists of the sands, clays, marls, &c., of the *Tertiary* formation, some of which furnish more permanent soils than the Primary; but all of which are liable to exhaustion, to a greater or less extent, under cultivation, and demand *manuring* to keep them productive.

The valleys are mostly of *Alluvial* deposits, and often of inexhaustible fertility. And last, there is a limited extent of these States composed of the *Chalk*, or Rotten Limestone, as it is locally called. This formation usually affords rich soils.

In Mississippi and Alabama, and the cotton growing portion of Tennessee, the Primary rocks do not appear; but the *Silurian*, *Devonian*, and *Carboniferous* limestones, sandstones, and shales, mostly constitute the highlands. In the limestone districts the soils are generally rich, and, with proper attention to manuring, will remain inexhaustible. The sandstone and shale districts of course afford soils liable to exhaustion, unless recourse is had to *liming* as well as *manuring*. A considerable portion of the surface, in the mountainous and hilly regions, occupied by these formations, is too rugged and rocky for cultivation.

The less elevated districts of these States, are composed of alternate beds of pure sands and clays, and of ferruginous sands and clays, and marlites, of the *Tertiary* formation; or the massive *Chalk* depositories; or of *Diluvium*, *Post-Diluvium* (?) and *Alluvium*. The soils of the *Tertiary* are very variable in their

not long occupy—that she does not *need* to occupy—because she can release herself from it.

But in the efforts hitherto made by England, and seconded by other Christian nations, she has been driven from measure to measure—each seeming to promise success, and each, in succession, partially or totally failing—until this moment, when *commercial considerations* are pressing, with their strongest force, for the extension of cotton cultivation to other countries than those now engaged in its production. Now, the most remarkable feature in the partial successes and complete failures of the national schemes for the destruction of the slave trade, and kindred evils, is the evidence they afford of a superintending Providence, overruling in the affairs of men for the accomplishment of His own purposes through the agency of individuals or nations. It now begins to appear, as clear as the sun at

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qualities—the clay and sandy strata soon becoming exhausted and the ferruginous and marly portions often being very durable. The chalk supplies some of the richest soils known, but in places having only a thin covering of soil and being nearly pure *carbonate of lime*, in dry seasons, the cotton, as the planters express it, is often *burnt out*. With abundance of manure, this formation can be kept perpetually fertile. It is of considerable extent in Mississippi and Alabama. The fertility of the Alluvium of the valleys is, of course, mostly inexhaustible. The Diluvium is of limited range and the Post-Diluvium more extensive. Both afford some good soils and much that are soon exhausted.

The indispensable article of *manure*, throughout the three States first named, is difficult to obtain. The cultivation of cotton affords nothing but the meager supply of *its own seed* for restoring the fertility of the soil, and this seed is mostly used on the corn crop. The chief remaining method of supplying manures, is tedious and expensive, and is accomplished by collecting the falling leaves from the forest trees of the mountains or nearest uncultivated lands. These are thrown in bulk into the farm yards, where cattle are confined, until sufficiently rotted and intermixed with excrement, when the mass is strewed in the drills during the planting of the cotton crop.

Manuring has not yet been much resorted to in the fresher lands of the south western States. All these lands, except the Alluvium, in all these States, will need manures to sustain their fertility. But in cultivating cotton exclusively, manures, in sufficient quantities, *cannot be produced*, as they may in grain-growing districts, to keep up the productiveness of the lands; and, consequently, the production of cotton cannot be increased in a ratio much beyond that of the present. If cotton only is cultivated, the lands become exhausted; and if a system of rotation of crops be adopted, to prevent the exhaustion of the soil, the quantity of cotton is diminished. It will be amusing to the English Scientific Agriculturist to know, that so far as any reference is had to the restoration of the fertility of the soil, in the Carolinas, by a change of crops, the system of rotation has been *Cotton and Pine ! Cotton and Pine ! !* Arkansas and Texas possess nearly the same geological characteristics as Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama.

Without entering into further details, we are convinced that, as a Geologist, we hazard but little in saying, that a considerable portion of the cotton lands, of the older southern States, must continue to *wear out under constant cultivation*; and that similar results, though less rapid in their operation, owing to differences in their Geology, must also follow in the newer States; and that, therefore, the *diminution* in the quantity of lands that will remunerate the cultivator, though for the present not equal to the quantity of new lands brought into use, will, nevertheless, reach to such an extent as to render it impossible, *for any great number of years*, to increase the production of cotton much beyond the present ratio of three cent. per annum.

noonday, that all these combinations of events—succeeding as they have done, each other—have tended to one grand result, worthy of the wisdom of Deity; and that result the involving of the principal nations of Christendom in such difficulties and perplexities—all seeming to be the natural fruits of their former connection with African oppression—as must impel them forward, from necessity, *moral* and *commercial*, to the civilization of Africa.

The London Economist, in the article before quoted, after having shown that Brazil, Egypt, and the East Indies, cannot be relied upon to meet the wants of the English manufacturers, says:

“Our hopes lie in a very different direction; we look to our West Indian, African, and Australian colonies, as the quarters from which, would government only afford every *possible* facility, we might, ere long, draw such a supply of cotton, as would, to say the least, make the fluctuations of the American crop, and the varying proportions of it which falls to our share, of far less consequence to our prosperity than they now are.”

But we must hasten to a conclusion. *Commercial considerations*, of overwhelming force, are impelling England to powerful efforts to secure to herself a *certain and adequate supply of cotton*. This she cannot obtain but in promoting its growth in *other countries than those now producing it*. The West Indies, in their present circumstances—nor until the missionaries now laboring there succeed in elevating the people, and more equal laws prevail—cannot supply this demand, nor even then without an increase of population. There will, therefore, be only two fields remaining, Australia and Africa. Of the two, without entering into detail, we must insist that Africa is the more promising, and success in it the more certain; not only from the character and abundance of its population, but because the *moral forces* will be exerted in behalf of Africa more fully than for Australia. The reason is obvious: though Australia may be adapted to cotton, its cultivation there, and the civilization of its natives, cannot be made to act so directly and efficiently upon the slave trade, as the promotion of its growth will do in Africa. And, besides this important consideration, the population of Australia, including emigrants and *convicts* transported thence, is only 300,000—a number too insignificant to accomplish much in cotton cultivation after producing necessary articles of subsistence. In the native population of Australia, “human nature wears its rudest form,” and they are declared to be, both *physically* and *intellectually*, the most degraded of any savage tribes. Their numbers have been estimated at 100,000,\* and it may safely be said, that it is useless to take them into the account in estimating free labor agencies for tropical cultivation. It must be apparent, therefore, that both the moral forces and commercial considerations, operating in England in behalf of an extended Cotton cultivation, must be directed to Africa, almost exclusively, and, in turning to Africa, must, necessarily, be concentrated upon Liberia as the great center of action.

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\* Encyclopedia of Geography, vol. 3, p. 127.

Thus stands the Cotton question in England. Her supply of that article from the United States has reached its maximum, and from all other quarters has been steadily diminishing; placing her under the necessity of securing, from Liberia, the demands of her *increasing consumption*. In the production of Sugar and Coffee in Africa, Great Britain is not so deeply interested—her chief supplies of these articles being obtained from her colonies. But from moral and commercial considerations she would prefer to substitute 146,000,000 lbs. of Liberia Sugar for that amount of slave labor product now consumed by her; because she desires to disown slavery, and because freemen in Liberia will need more of her fabrics, in exchange, than the Brazilian planters will purchase for their half-naked slaves. We may, therefore, rely upon England as the fast friend of Liberia and of African civilization.

In the United States the moral forces have long been operating with great efficiency for African civilization. The commercial considerations are now also beginning to be felt with a good degree of power.\* On this subject, however, we cannot at present enlarge, but must be content with calling special attention to one point.

The great element in the United States, for the promotion of African civilization, consists in our industrious and intelligent free colored population. The facts presented in the present Lecture, with the inducements previously existing, should incline them to flock to Africa. In Liberia, the colored man has secured to him all the privileges of a freeman. There he can have schools and colleges for the education of his children, and enjoy civil and religious liberty. He can assist in the great work of African civilization, and aid in destroying the slave trade. He has there a fair field for the acquisition of wealth, and the enjoyments it secures. That these promises are not illusive, but will be fulfilled, is easily proved. Our investigations show, that the demand for an increased amount of Cotton, affords a guaranty that the labor of the Liberians would pay, if directed to its production. The increasing demand for Coffee cannot be supplied but by its cultivation in Liberia, or by an increase of slaves in Brazil, and a corresponding increase of the slave trade. The consumption of this article has increased in a ratio of five per cent. per annum. The demand for 1850 is estimated at 630,000,000 lbs. The production of 1849 was only 426,000,000 lbs., and the stock of old Coffee on hand but 113,000,000 lbs., leaving a deficit for the present year, 1850, of 70,000,000 lbs.† Brazil now supplies over *two-fifths* of the whole amount of Coffee consumed, and cultivates it at a cost *one-third less* than other countries. But she cannot extend her cultivation at present, for want of slaves, and should Great Britain compel her to suspend the slave trade, which is probable, there must be a diminution of her production. Its cultivation in other countries, where it has been declining, cannot be revived for many years.‡ It is almost

\* See the Report of a Committee of Congress on the establishment of a line of steam vessels between the United States and Liberia.

† Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Aug., 1850.

‡ Ibid.

certain, therefore, that the production of Coffee within the present limits of its cultivation, can do no more than make up the deficiency now existing, and keep up the supply to the present demand of 630,000,000 lbs. annually; and it is more than probable that even this cannot be effected, because, if the crop of 1850 only equals that of 1849, the deficit for 1851 will be 200,000,000 lbs., being nearly equal to one-third the consumption. This, then, will leave at least the increasing demand of five per cent. per annum *to be supplied by Liberia*; and, behold, what a vast source of wealth even this one article opens up to the citizens of that Republic!

The following tabular statement, prepared at our request, by Mr. J. M. M. WILSON, a graduate of Miami University, presents at one view, the extent and value, during the next fifteen years, of this five per cent. ratio of annual increasing consumption of Coffee:

TABULAR STATEMENT of the amount and value of Coffee which will be demanded by a ratio of increase of five per cent. per annum on the present consumption.

YEARS.	Amount required. lbs.	Annual increase. lbs.	Increase over 1850.	Value—Dollars, at 6 cts. per lb.
1850,	630,000,000	.....	.....	.....
1851,	661,500,000	31,600,000	31,500,000	\$1,890,000
1852,	729,575,000	33,075,000	64,575,000	3,874,500
1853,	729,303,750	34,729,750	99,303,750	5,958,225
1854,	765,768,937	39,463,185	135,768,937	8,146,136
1855,	804,057,384	38,288,447	174,057,384	10,443,443
1856,	844,260,252	40,202,869	214,260,253	12,855,615
1857,	986,473,265	42,213,013	256,473,265	15,388,395
1858,	930,786,928	44,323,663	300,796,928	18,047,815
1859,	977,336,674	46,539,746	347,336,674	20,840,200
1860,	1,026,503,508	48,866,834	399,203,508	23,772,210
1861,	1,077,513,233	51,310,175	447,513,233	26,850,793
1862,	1,131,388,895	53,875,662	501,388,895	30,083,333
1863,	1,187,958,340	56,569,445	557,958,340	33,477,500
1864,	1,247,356,257	59,397,917	617,356,257	36,841,375
1865,	1,309,724,070	62,367,813	679,724,070	40,783,307

We should not have introduced this table, but for its value in affording a true idea of the growing commercial importance of the cultivation of the lands of Liberia. It shows that the annual ratio of increase, aside from the large deficit in the supply of Coffee, is at this moment, worth nearly *two millions* of dollars, and that in fifteen years it will be worth over *forty millions*!! The increased demand for Cotton will be of nearly equal importance. To this must be added her sugar, indigo, dye-woods, palm oil, ivory, &c., &c., and the new Republic assumes an importance, in the commercial world, only surpassed by the moral influence she is destined to exert over the whole continent. Indeed, her commercial progress already has been astonishing. Five or six years ago, her exports were about \$100,000, but now they are \$500,000, and rapidly increasing. Liberians comprehend the advantageous position they have secured, and

are eager to develop the resources of their country. Their greatest want is men. They appeal to us for industrious, intelligent, enterprising, upright emigrants, to aid them in unfolding to the world the long-hidden treasures of Africa, and to participate in the advantages that her riches will bestow. Are not colored men, in this country, able to comprehend the value of these resources? Must we conclude that they will remain indifferent, and reject the rich inheritance offered in Liberia, and tell the world that they have less foresight, energy, and enterprise, than other races of men? We cannot believe this.

But the discussion of this proposition must be closed. Our Republic occupies a very peculiar and important position. We have the agents necessary to effect the moral regeneration of Africa; and if they be treated *as men*, and liberal provision be made for emigration, by the States and the General Government, our intelligent colored men will not shrink from duty.

A crisis has arrived in the commercial world, in which there is an inadequate supply of two of the leading staples upon which slave labor is employed. Free and slave labor combined have failed to supply the consumption, and an increase of price has occurred sufficient to give a stimulus to their production. This increased production must occur either in Brazil and Cuba, or free labor must be sufficiently stimulated to meet the demand. But where and how is this to be accomplished? There is little hope of its soon occurring in the East or West Indies. Already at one point in Liberia, nearly 30,000 coffee trees are maturing, and will soon afford 300,000 lbs. a year for export. There might, and would have been, had the people of the United States performed their duty, 700 such plantations in Liberia at this moment, ready to supply 200,000,000 lbs. of Coffee annually. Had the growth of Liberia not been retarded by the narrow policy that opposed Colonization, it requires little discernment to perceive, that this increasing demand might have been supplied by the labor of the freemen of the African Republic, instead of being left as a tempting prize, to be seized by the Brazilian planter and the African slave trader. The crisis now existing, therefore, demands the united exertions of all the friends of humanity, both at the North and the South, to push forward, with the utmost energy, the work of Colonization, as the only means of checking the extension of slavery and the slave trade. The wants of commerce demand, and must receive, an adequate supply of Coffee and Cotton, and we must either secure that supply from Liberia, or submit to see an increase of cruelty and oppression in Cuba and Brazil.

We might greatly enlarge upon the extent to which moral forces and commercial considerations are pressing the English and American people to promote African civilization, through the agency of Liberia, but what has been said must suffice.

VII. That all these agencies and influences being brought to bear upon the Civilization of Africa, from the nature of its soil, climate,

products, and population, we are forced to believe that a mighty people will ultimately rise upon that continent, taking rank with the most powerful nations of the earth, and vindicate the character of the African race before the world.

We cannot, at present, enter upon the discussion of this proposition. It includes a field of great interest, which would be amply broad for a whole discourse. But we must leave it as an expression of our anticipation of the ultimate destiny of Africa, and close with a few remarks.

Our last Lecture presented the African under the influence of degrading superstition, and the brutalizing effects of the slave trade. The picture was dark indeed. In the present Lecture we had designed to present many evidences of his nobleness of character, when such debasing causes do not influence his actions. But we must defer them, and limit ourselves to a few points more closely connected with the subjects we have been discussing.

It has been fashionable to charge upon the slaveholder equal criminality with the African kidnapper and slave trader, because the forefathers of the slaves held in bondage were originally brought from Africa. As our *diploma* does not bear date from *Mount Ebal*,\* and we are not trained to *cursing*, we shall be excused for speaking more calmly upon this point, and taking a more comprehensive view of its relations. Let the criminality of the slaveholder be what it may, it will be proper to examine the facts and ascertain whether others are not equally implicated in the guilt. Slaveholders are now producing, annually, more than eleven hundred millions of pounds of Cotton, and more than twelve hundred and twenty millions of pounds of Sugar, and nearly three hundred and forty millions of pounds of Coffee. Do they consume these articles themselves? Are these products so polluted that the world will neither touch, taste, nor handle them? Not at all. The great struggle everywhere is as to who shall obtain the greatest quantity of them, who make the greatest profit, and who derive most comfort from their consumption. This is especially true of London, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Brussels, Hamburgh, Stockholm, Amsterdam, and St. Petersburgh, as well as of Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati. The early abolitionists endeavored to prove, that the slaveholder was equally guilty with the slave trader and kidnapper, because the former received his slaves from the hands of the latter; and that those who now hold in bondage the descendants of the stolen slaves, are equally guilty with the original kidnapper. According to this logic, that "the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge," is a true proverb—and the men of the seventh generation, involved in an evil without their consent, by the actions of their forefathers, are equally guilty with its originators. If this be sound logic, then the manufacturer who buys slave grown Cotton, and makes it into cloth, is equally guilty with the slaveholder

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\* Deut. 27 : 18.

himself who produces it. But the implication in guilt, if guilt there be, does not stop here. He who purchases and wears the goods manufactured from slave grown cotton, is also implicated; and as there is annually consumed over eleven hundred millions of pounds of slave grown cotton, and barely seventy-eight millions of free labor growth, it follows that all Christendom is involved in the same condemnation. These facts serve to illustrate one of our positions—that the Christian world cannot avoid consuming the products of slave labor, and thereby encourage slavery and the slave trade, but by civilizing Africa.

There is one plan to avoid this great evil, and in an hour free ourselves from it, and that is *to burn down all the cotton factories in Europe and America*, and suffer none to be erected in their stead. But what would the world gain by the sacrifice? or rather, what would it lose? Commerce, the great agent in the world's civilization, would be destroyed. A check upon commerce is a check upon civilization. Human progress and human happiness materially depend upon commerce. But it is not practicable, even were it desirable, to destroy these factories to eradicate slavery. It is *impossible* to destroy them. The *pecuniary* considerations involved are more powerful than the *moral*. The owners of these factories will continue to manufacture slave grown cotton; commerce *will* continue to transmit the products of the looms to every corner of the world; and the earth's population will continue to wear these fabrics. The slave grown sugar and coffee *will* also be consumed; because a supply from free labor cannot be obtained. As it is impracticable, then, to prevent the consumption of slave grown coffee, sugar, and cotton, on account of the pecuniary profit and personal comfort they afford to mankind, so it is alike impossible to abolish slavery while the world continues to consume the products of its labor. Our own view, as expressed in the outset, is, that the whole Christian world is involved in this evil. Is there any more criminality in superintending the *production* of slave grown cotton, than in overseeing its *manufacture*, or in being *clothed* with the fabrics into which it has been transformed? Is the Louisiana or Cuban planter more criminal in raising, and sending to market, his crop of sugar, than the abolitionist of London or Boston is for sweetening his coffee, his tea, or his poundcake with the same article? Is the Brazilian slaveholder more guilty for furnishing coffee, by the labor of his slaves, than the merchant is for purchasing and selling it to all the anti-slavery men in Ohio? Are they innocent for greedily drinking it, knowing it to be procured by the lash of the task-master? If coffee were not consumed, none would be raised. If sugar were not used, none would be made. If cotton were not manufactured and worn, none would be grown. Hence slavery would be abolished! Who then supports slavery and the slave trade, but the one who consumes its products? We leave these questions to every man's conscience. In the present crisis we would approach our southern brethren in the language of the sons of Jacob, and say: "We are verily guilty

concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us;" and in the spirit of christian liberality, propose some plan that would *equalize the burden* of relieving the country from the distracting evils of slavery. Capitalists at the south buy negroes because the investment is profitable, and they can no more be expected to emancipate their slaves, while their labor is *profitable*, than northern men can be expected to burn their factories or banks with all their valuable contents.

But what is there to prevent a change in this condition of things? Must it remain forever? Must slavery, acknowledged on all hands, except by a very few, to be an evil, continue as a perpetual source of discord, endangering the safety of the Union, or affording a fruitful theme of excitement for fanatics and demagogues? Men may transfer their property, at pleasure, into cash, whether it be in lands, manufactories, or slaves. They are governed only by interest and inclination in such matters. Convince the slaveholder that he can do better than to invest his money in slaves, and he will not buy them. But when the investment is made, and you ask him to emancipate, *without compensation*, he considers it an unreasonable demand. Emancipation in the West Indies, he knows, has resulted in pecuniary ruin to the master, and has increased slavery in the aggregate, instead of diminishing it. It is of the first importance, therefore, in the adoption of any emancipation schemes, that an adequate number of efficient free laborers should be secured to supply the place of the slaves. Unless this can be done with safety to the planter, he will not risk the change; and unless the plan be such an one as will not create a fresh demand for slaves elsewhere, and produce an increase of the slave trade, humanity would forbid its adoption. Then devise a plan by which *a productive free labor* can be substituted for slave labor, and the master *receive compensation for his slaves*, and he would, no doubt, gladly free himself from the inconveniences and want of safety of his position.

There are many reasons why such a change would be acceptable to the South. A feeling favorable to emancipation, *independent of compensation*, has long existed there, and legislative action has been deemed necessary to prevent too great an increase of free blacks. The laws forbidding emancipation, except on condition of the removal of the freed man, have been approved by the friends of emancipation; because the two leading objects they have in view, are, to better the condition of the slave, and to throw their own sons in a position of *self-dependence*, that would lead them to industry. To secure both these objects, demands the removal of the colored people. But as no efficient system exists in the slave States, for the encouragement of white labor, and as none can be adopted while the blacks remain, many of the enterprising whites, of small means, have yearly emigrated to the free States. This has been most injurious to the slave States. Each white man, who emigrated, was a loss to them and a gain to the free States. Thousands upon thousands of

the best citizens of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are from the slave States, and abandoned their former homes on account of their dislike to place their sons, as laborers, on an equality with slaves, and in the midst of the demoralizing influences that slavery generates. It is this tide of emigration which is so seriously checking southern prosperity and keeping the numerical strength of the slave States so much below that of the free. But this dislike of freemen to labor on an equality with slaves, influences not only the southern white man of moderate means, but it prevents foreign emigrants from choosing their homes in the "sunny south" instead of the chilly north. Neither can *emancipation*, alone, check this tide of white emigration from the slave States, nor attract the foreign emigrant to them. The free colored people exert as paralyzing an effect upon industry there, as the presence of the slaves; and, to secure the objects aimed at, *colonization must be connected with emancipation*. This effect of the presence of emancipated slaves, upon the industry of the whites, is not confined alone to the United States. It has been a legitimate result of African slavery wherever it has existed. According to Mr. Bigelow, whose letters have been already quoted, it has been peculiarly the case in Jamaica. In summing up the causes which have continued to depress the prosperity of that island, since emancipation, he places, first in the list, the dislike of the whites to labor with a people of servile origin, and the aptness of the blacks to adopt their idle habits. His first cause of industrial depression is thus stated :

" 1. The degradation of labor, in consequence of the yet comparatively recent existence of negro slavery upon the Island, which excludes the white population from almost every department of productive industry, and begets a public opinion calculated to discourage, rather than promote industry among the colored population."

Mr. Bigelow is of the opinion that the English Government takes this view of the subject; and, with the design of correcting the evils and restoring the prosperity of the Island, is contemplating the withdrawal of the white population, and allowing the colored people *to become the proprietors of the soil*. Now, if it be so, that the prosperity of the West India Islands demands a separation of the races, where it is the boast that so little prejudice against color exists, how much more imperiously is the separation of the blacks and whites demanded in this country, where prejudice against color is supposed to be so much stronger; but which, in fact, may be called by another name, because it is founded, not so much in relation to *color* as to the *habits* engendered by slavery, and to which, color is supposed to be a certain index, as it reveals the servile origin of its possessor. Colonization is the true remedy, to the colored people, for this social evil, as it is also the true means of stimulating the industry of the whites where slavery has existed.

But there is another depressing cause, weighing down the colored man, for which Colonization is the only remedy. While he remains among those to whom he, or his fathers, were formerly in bondage, his presence not only continues to degrade labor, and prevent industry

among the whites, but he continues to feel a sense of inferiority that retards improvement. The remedy for this, is his removal from the scenes that remind him of his former servile condition, and especially his separation from the race which held him in bondage. This opinion of the unfavorable condition in which the colored people are placed, is becoming general. It is a great truth, which is fast forcing itself upon minds that hitherto would not admit it for a moment. Even the National Era, the Abolition organ, has been led to embrace views corresponding so closely with this as to be its equivalent. In an article headed "Free Labor versus Slave Labor," the editor expresses the opinion, that emancipation in the United States would lead to the concentration of the colored people in the South, and the displacement of the laboring whites, and produce beneficial results. He says:

"The aggregation of the negroes would necessarily build up a public opinion of their own, *a feeling of nationality, which is essential to the development of character.* This they never can have while dispersed over so wide an extent of country, among an unfriendly people, who trample on their rights and treat them as outcasts."\*

It will be apparent, on slight examination, that the aggregation of the colored people and the displacement of the whites, must be a very different thing in the United States from what it would be in Jamaica. The removal of 16,000 whites, (about 3,000 families,) in that Island, from a colored population of nearly 400,000 persons, will be a trifling task compared with the rooting out of the immense white population of *one-third of the States of this Union!* The former is practicable, the latter impossible; and the sooner it is dismissed from any part of the public mind the better. The truth is, that the only hope of placing the colored people of the United States beyond the influence of those "who trample on their rights and treat them as outcasts," and where there would necessarily grow up "a public opinion of their own, *a feeling of nationality, which is essential to the development of character,*" is not to retain them as free laborers in the service of the southern planter, as the Era's scheme contemplates, but to afford them the means of reaching Liberia, where they may, themselves, be the *landed proprietors* in a Republic of their own, instead of remaining here as *serfs* in the land of their former bondage. These are the different destinies that Colonization and Abolition have in store for the African race.

But can such a substitution of free labor for slave labor, as we have contemplated, be made with equal profit to the southern capitalist? Can there be found a sufficient number of freemen, to replace the slaves, so that there shall be no diminution of products to serve as a fresh stimulus to slavery and the slave trade elsewhere? Will southern men, in such circumstances, be willing to emancipate, on condition of receiving compensation? Could the States and the

General Government provide for the expenses of the emigration of all the colored people?

These are the great questions of the day in reference to the whole subject of emancipation. We shall not undertake, formally, to answer them. Colonies of foreigners, recently settled in Texas, have commenced the cultivation of cotton without the aid of slaves. The agent of the "Free Produce Society," LEVI COFFIN, of Cincinnati, assures us that these colonists, together with many other persons thus engaged in cotton raising at the South, find it a profitable business, and that they can fully compete with their neighbors who employ slave labor. From personal observation, we are prepared to say, that the value of the proceeds of small farms, on which but few laborers are employed, is twice as great in the North as in the South. We have less acquaintance with the operations of the large planters at the South, but suppose that the contractors on our public works at the North, who employ an equal number of hands, and possess equal business talents, after paying full wages, realize the greatest profits. We mean to be understood as claiming, that free labor, under the most favoring circumstances, is twice as productive as slave labor; and that the southern planters, in substituting an intelligent white laboring population, and paying full wages, would realize a better profit than they do under their present system. With a few years' experience, the foreigner is as profitable a laborer as the native American. The present annual influx of near a *half a million of foreigners*, into the country, would furnish many laborers to the South, were the objections to settling there removed. The adoption, by the General Government, of a system of emancipation, *allowing compensation for the slaves, and connecting with it their colonization in Liberia*, would at once attract foreigners to the southern States, to an extent fully equal to the number of colored people that could annually be safely settled in Africa. The number of emigrants that can be provided for in Liberia, will be an hundred per cent. greater, in proportion to its population, than can be received in countries where protection has to be made against winter. In a few years that Republic can be prepared to receive an immense emigration. The opening of the South to free labor, would give a vast stimulus to the spirit of emigration in European countries, and bring a flood of useful emigrants from their teeming populations; including mechanics, manufacturers, and agricultural laborers, which might equal, as soon as desirable, the whole number of our slaves, *and constitute a body of operatives much more profitable*. Europe, at present, is annually pouring out more than a half a million of her people, without feeling any sensible diminution; nay, without losing a tithe of her increase. The greater part of that emigration is to the United States; and as there is not such an attractive field furnished in the world, to foreign emigrants, as our southern States afford, were a system adopted for the emigration of the African population, we would receive a greatly increased number of Europeans. How long it would take for three millions of foreign emigrants to find their way

into the South, to take the place of the three millions of slaves, we cannot say; but there exists little doubt that their ingress would be as rapid as the colored people could possibly leave for Liberia.

It is thus that free labor might be substituted for slave labor, *and the slaveholder be rendered more prosperous and happy.* The restoration to the planter, by the General Government, of his capital invested in slaves, and the introduction of a system of free labor which would require a much less outlay of money than the present system, would, doubtless, be approved at the South, and a proposition of this kind be accepted by acclamation.

#### GENTLEMEN OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION:

In closing, we must call your attention to the question of making provision for the emigration of the colored people of Ohio, or for such of them as may, from time to time, desire to remove to Liberia. The late purchase of territory for a new colony, by CHARLES McMICKEN, Esq., to be called *Ohio in Africa*, is attracting the attention of the colored people, and considerable anxiety prevails to obtain reliable information about Liberia, and especially in relation to the lands now offered to them as their future homes. The general feeling among those who take an interest in this movement, is, that a committee of their own choosing, which should be approved by the agent of the Colonization Society, shall be sent to explore the country. This seems a reasonable request, and should be complied with.

The Colonization Society have in their offer a larger number of slaves than they can colonize, and we cannot ask that its funds shall be diverted from so sacred an object as securing their freedom. The assistance for our colored people must come from the State itself. But the voluntary contributions of individuals are insufficient for this purpose, and too precarious to be relied upon. Public sympathy, throughout the Union, cannot be aroused in behalf of the free colored people, as it can for the slave, so as to make their removal a national question. And yet their agency, as pioneers to aid the Liberians in making provision for new emigrants, is essential to the success of any great national emancipation scheme. The cost of emigration of the free colored people must, then, be borne by the States in which they reside. This view has already been adopted by some of the States. Maryland has established a colony at Cape Palmas, upon which she has expended a large sum. Its prosperity amply repays her liberality. Virginia, last winter, also made a large appropriation, (\$30,000 a year,) to colonize her free colored people. But in addition to this, she has levied a poll tax upon them, which will, doubtless, lessen the task she has undertaken, by driving over upon the adjoining free States, all those who do not wish to emigrate. Ohio has done nothing yet for colonization. Her recent legislation has all been directed so as to invite the largest emigration of colored people from abroad.\*

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\* See first Lecture, pages 19 to 26.

Taking all the circumstances connected with the subject into view, it is evident that the means of promoting the cause of Colonization in Ohio, must be obtained within the State, and that an application to the Legislature for aid will be necessary. It is all important, then, that the question of legislative power to appropriate money for this object, be put beyond all dispute. To bring the question of affording aid to Colonization directly before the people, for their approval, it is respectfully requested on behalf of the friends of that cause, and on behalf of the colored people who wish to emigrate, that you, gentlemen, in the discharge of your duties, as members of the Constitutional Convention, will insert a clause in the new Constitution, empowering the Legislature to grant an appropriation of money to the American Colonization Society, under such restrictions as will best promote the noble enterprise in which it is engaged, and encourage the emigration of the colored people from this State to Liberia.

There is certainly much, at this moment, gentlemen, to excite encouraging hopes for the colored race, and to stimulate their friends to forget all minor differences, and press onward to the accomplishment of the grand results now evidently attainable through Colonization. Nor are we left without hope, that our own beloved country may yet be freed from the reproach of African slavery, which has been entailed upon her by the cupidity of the mother country. Take a view, for a moment, of the signs of the times, and the present position of affairs. The despotisms of Europe are being shaken to their centers. The crowned heads seem to have gained a momentary respite. The want of safety in property and life in the old world is greatly stimulating emigration to the new. Here, only, can white men enjoy all the rights of freemen, and be brought under the influence of all the elements of useful human progress.\* The recent vast enlargement of our territory, may have been permitted to afford room for the oppressed millions of Europe, who are sighing for peace and for freedom. Our national councils have been directed to a peaceful adjustment of the questions threatening the safety of the Union. The opening up of the untold riches of California is placing in the possession of the nation the means of accomplishing great things for the world. This most singular combination of events, points very significantly to the great work devolving upon the nation. *To substitute free labor for slave labor is in our power. To give compensation to the master for his slaves will not be beyond our ability.* The foreign emigrants pouring into the country will perform the first great work. The immense revenues that will hereafter flow into our national treasury will enable us to execute the last. Is it doubted? The appropriation of an annual sum only equal to half the amount expended in the Mexican War, would, in seventeen years, colonize all the slaves, and pay to the masters \$300 each, for young and old, as compensation. To substitute free labor for slave labor need produce no commercial derangement with us that would encourage the slave trade or slavery

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\* See Lecture Second, page 49.

elsewhere. There need be no diminution of products, but the improved tillage would yield an increase. England and France, when freeing the slaves in their Colonies, found no such tide of intelligent foreigners as we are receiving, flowing into them, to take the place of their slaves, and prevent a decrease of agricultural products. We can do what no other nation would be capable of doing. It is in our power not only to free ourselves from the evil of slavery, and the whole world from the necessity of consuming slave-grown products; but, in the execution of this great work, to hasten the redemption of Africa from barbarism; and, in doing this, to crush the slave trade and slavery everywhere, and establish our own glorious republic upon a foundation as enduring as the everlasting hills. No one, we think, can calmly examine the present relations of free labor to slave labor, in tropical and semi-tropical countries, as embodied in the mass of facts we have collated, and not be convinced that Emancipation in the United States, and the Colonization of the colored people in Liberia, to develop its resources and civilize its inhabitants, would give a death-blow to the slavery of Cuba and Brazil, and to African oppression throughout the world. And who would not be delighted to aid in such a glorious work? Who would not be overjoyed to witness such a sublime achievement of Republican principle? Who would not devoutly adore that Divine Wisdom which had wrought out such deliverance for Africa.

And now, gentlemen, we commit this subject into your hands. The first step, in the agency which Ohio should have in this great work, must be taken by you. Our lands for the Colony of Ohio in Africa, are included in the Gallinas, hitherto the greatest mart of the slave trade on that coast. To secure its purchase, Great Britain, with profuse liberality, for more than a year, blockaded all its principal trading points and thus kept off the slave traders until the chiefs and kings were induced to sell. That blockade is now raised—the purchase having been made. The country is once more exposed to the approaches of the slave traders, who may again succeed in renewing the traffic. This can only be prevented by the settlement of the points liable to be visited by them. This territory being in the offer of the colored people of Ohio, will for a time, not be offered to others. It is important, therefore, that decisive steps be taken to secure the execution of the enterprise of establishing an Ohio Colony in Africa. The failure of an application to the Legislature, last winter, for aid to begin this work, was, in some degree, owing to an opinion held by a few of the members, that they had not constitutional power to appropriate money for this object. Our appeal, then, must first be to you. The failure to confer upon the Legislature the power for which we ask, will leave us in doubt and perplexity, and cast a blight upon our prospects. But the insertion of a clause in the Constitution, such as is desired, will ensure Legislative action, and may lead the State to adopt and cherish this offspring of benevolence—Ohio in Africa—and thus create a new and efficient agent for the overthrow of oppression and the promotion of human liberty. We commend it to your care, and to the blessing of the Ruler of Nations.



